

# MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE

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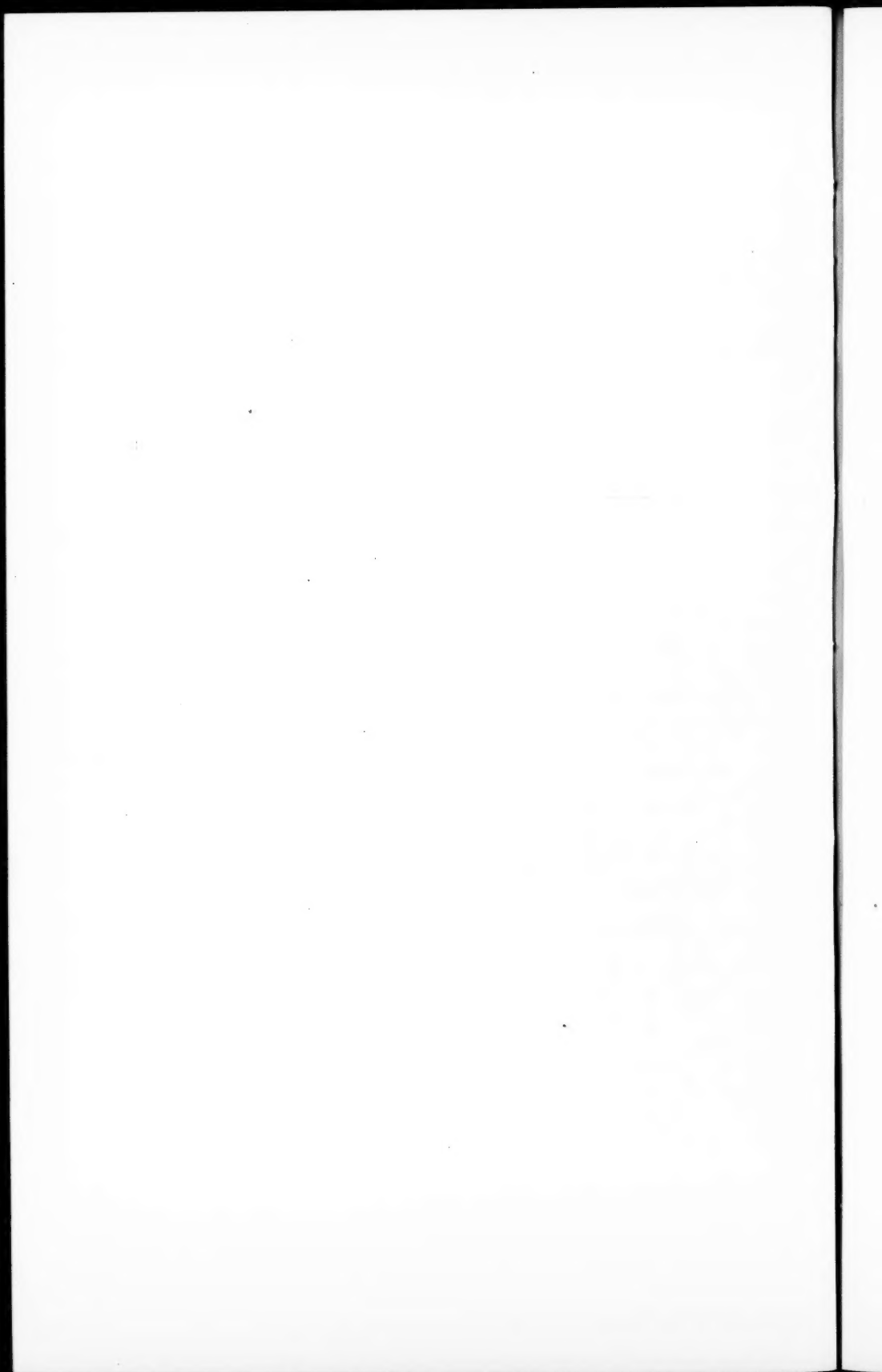
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# MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE

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Vol. XXIII

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## DETROIT NATIONALITY GROUPS

BY LOIS RANKIN

### *Foreword*

AS a center of the foreign born in the United States, Detroit is equalled only by Chicago and Cleveland, and surpassed only by New York City. In 1930 it had slightly over 25 per cent foreign-born population, while New York City had 33 per cent, and the comparable figures for Chicago and Cleveland were 26 and 25 per cent.

The political and social significance of the foreign-born population of Detroit is suggested by a study made in 1938,<sup>1</sup> showing that, though no precinct in the city had more than 40 per cent of foreign-born voters, in only one, a Negro precinct, was there a complete absence of foreign-born voters, and that even in a ward constituting a middle-class residential section, no precinct had less than 9 per cent of foreign-born voters.

Nevertheless, there has been very little information available concerning the location, composition, history, and social life of these nationality groups which comprise so considerable a part of the city's population. The Detroit Public Library and the Merrill-Palmer School, which have acted jointly in sponsoring these surveys of twelve of these groups, therefore greatly appreciate the opportunity to publish them through the appropriate medium of the Michigan Historical Commission.

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<sup>1</sup>*Detroit Voters and Recent Elections*, by Donald S. Hecock. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., 1938.

Certain nationality groups comprising the foreign born of Detroit, notably the Canadian born, who are a large group, show a tendency to disperse throughout the city. Others, of whom the Poles are the largest group, tend to colonize, settling in well-defined areas of the city. The groups included in Miss Rankin's surveys belong in the latter category.

We believe that students and investigators in a number of fields will be grateful for the results of these careful surveys made by Miss Lois Rankin, who wrote sympathetically but without bias of these groups among whom she had so many friends.

Miss Rankin was for fifteen years an active worker among the foreign born in Pittsburgh and Detroit. Ten of these years were spent in Detroit, where her chief work was with the International Institute. She had countless friends among the groups of which she writes, and traveled widely in their home countries. Her survey of nationality groups, to which she gave four years, was made under the auspices of the Detroit Public Library and the Merrill-Palmer School. Miss Rankin died at her home in Pittsburgh on October 4, 1934.

The papers were prepared for publication by Miss Dorothy Tyler of the Merrill-Palmer staff.

EDNA NOBLE WHITE,

Director, Merrill-Palmer School.

ADAM STROHM,

Librarian, Detroit Public Library.

Detroit, November, 1938.

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BULGARIANS AND MACEDONIANS

**T**HE Detroit area has the largest settlement of Bulgarians and Macedonians in the United States.<sup>2</sup> It is estimated that the group numbers about five thousand, of whom about

<sup>2</sup>It will be observed that among the groups not treated by Miss Rankin are Canadian-French, Cornish, Dutch, English, German, Irish, Jews, Scandinavians. The Michigan Historical Commission will be glad to publish in future numbers of the Magazine studies of such groups as might be written in similar scholarly manner, and invites such studies to be made and submitted for their consideration. The Autumn 1938 issue of the Magazine carried an article on "Jews in Michigan", written by Rabbi Leo M. Franklin of Congregation Beth El, Detroit.

three-fourths are from Macedonia. They began to come to Detroit in 1904, when they were attracted by the high wages paid in the automobile industry. Most of the first comers were unmarried men or men who had left their families in the home country.

*Location of Colonies.* The first comers settled on Russell Street, where they had been preceded by Serbians, Croatians, and Rumanians. Such Old World enemies of similar language and customs as the Bulgarians and Serbians apparently found it more comfortable to live together in this little Balkan district than to live with complete strangers. Later comers among the Macedonians were usually young married people with families, who settled west of Woodward Avenue on Michigan and on the streets between 16th and 33d near Michigan Avenue. A small group of Bulgarians from Bulgaria is scattered on Omira, Cedarhurst, Nevada, Savannah, and Golden Gate streets in the northern part of Detroit. The men of this group are chiefly skilled workmen who own their own homes. A few Bulgarian and Macedonian families live on Woodlawn near Gratiot and on Fischer near East Jefferson, a few in River Rouge and Fordson, and a few between Davison Avenue and the Six-Mile Road near Orleans Street.

*Occupations.* Most of the Bulgarians and Macedonians in the Detroit area are employed as unskilled workers in the automobile factories. Some work at the Michigan Central Railroad yards and others at the packing houses on the West Side. Some men of the group had trades in their own country, and since coming to Detroit several have had training fitting them to become toolmakers, diemakers, body designers, etc.

Several small businesses have been developed on Russell Street, but there are more in the Michigan Avenue district. These are chiefly grocery stores, bakeries, restaurants, and the traditional coffee houses. There are also two Bulgarian furriers, one of whom is among the best known in the city.

Though the group is comparatively small and arrived relatively late, it has its professional people. These include two

doctors, a lawyer, a priest, and five engineers, of eight in the State. The doctors and the priest were educated in Europe, but the engineers were all trained in the United States. A Bulgarian artist in Detroit is well known for his decoration of churches and theaters in the city.

*Religion.* A local church for the Orthodox group, on 25th Street near Michigan Avenue, was organized in 1929, largely through the efforts of the Macedonians. It has a membership of about eighty. A women's society helps to raise money for its support. There are three or four Protestant families in Detroit, and several wives of men who belong to the Orthodox church are Protestants. These people of the Protestant faith all had at least part of their education in schools established in Bulgaria by American Protestant churches.

*Organizations.* The national society of the Macedonians, Boof, has more members than any other organization of the group in Detroit. Like Boof, Tetovo, a local society, is made up of men from the same home village. As elsewhere among Macedonian colonies in the United States, the Macedonian Political Party has a large membership in Detroit. Neither the Bulgarians nor the Macedonians have established such organizations as building and loan societies or banks.

*Family Life.* The Bulgarian family in the New World is still closely bound together. Most of the children born in America are young, and as yet the tension which appears when the American-born children begin to question Old World ways has not been noticeable. The children are courteous and respectful toward their elders and seem to give willing obedience. The father is the unquestioned head of the family, but much reverence is paid the mother. All Bulgarian and Macedonian parents desire that their children be educated, and it is said that without exception every boy and girl who finishes grade school goes on to high school. Not many of the children have reached college age, but the parents of the few who have are making great efforts to give them a higher education.

Since unmarried men still make up a great part of the group, the girls usually marry early. Almost all who are of marriageable age were born in Europe. Though they still live according to Old World conventions, their youth will probably enable them to adopt new customs easily, and if this should prove to be the case the usual struggle between Old World parents and New World children may not occur.

Few if any Bulgarian or Macedonian women are employed in factory work in Detroit, and none in domestic service. Some keep boarders, but the greater number keep house only for their own families. The adult women, born in Europe, are highly skilled in the arts of weaving and embroidery, but these fall into disuse in the new country where the machine does everything.

*Social Life.* The social life of the Bulgarians and Macedonians is restricted chiefly to weddings, christenings, and name day festivities. Among people of the Eastern or Orthodox faith children are almost always named for saints, and all people bearing the same name celebrate on their saint's day, rather than on their own birthdays. Visits of congratulation are made, and much good food is consumed. The members of a church form a compact little group who center much of their social life in the church, and those who have broken away are usually connected with liberal or radical organizations which provide practically all of their social life and recreation.

*Community Relations.* With the exception of the school children of the group, Bulgarians and Macedonians in the Detroit area have made little contact with the larger community. They are isolated by their ignorance of English, and until the younger generation has come to maturity it is probable that they will take little part in the life of the larger community. They are, however, an asset to the community, for they are sober, serious-minded, and frugal, and have a respect for education which leads them to make real sacrifices to give their children educational opportunities. Until the depression they were a prosperous people. Since land is the most desirable of

possessions to all peasant people, many of them invested in real estate, and when they were unable to meet their payments lost all the savings they had invested.

#### FINNS

A Detroit Finn who has interested himself in the history of his national group in the city states that the first Finn to come to Detroit was a carpenter who arrived in 1832 and found work at the Newberry shipyard, then located at Griswold and Wayne Streets. He was soon joined by two fellow countrymen, one a silversmith or watchmaker by trade, the other a stone carver. By 1871 there were eight families in the city.

During the next thirty years the Finnish colony grew very slowly. In 1905/6, following political disturbances in Finland, a number of Finns emigrated directly to Detroit, and at about the same time a group moved to Detroit from Cleveland. A year or two later the settlement was further increased by miners from the copper and iron fields of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. Most of these newcomers were employed as laborers by the Michigan Central Railroad and a Detroit salt company. In 1910 many skilled metal workers from Massachusetts towns were attracted to Detroit by the opportunities offered them in the automobile factories. Almost all the men of this group found work at high wages as auto body makers with the Packard Motor Company.

There was no real influx of Finns into Detroit until 1913/14, when there was a great strike in the copper mines of the Upper Peninsula and the new high wage scale was inaugurated by the Ford Motor Company. The outbreak of the World War brought about the development in the city of munitions factories, and many Finns flocked to the city from other settlements in the United States to find employment in them. Most of the Finns who came to Detroit at this time were unmarried men, practically all of whom were housed by Finnish families

already settled in the city. Wages were high and the Finnish colony was prosperous.

The following table shows the distribution of the Finnish population of the Detroit area, including American-born children, according to the 1930 Census.

	Foreign-born	Foreign or mixed parentage	Total
Detroit .....	2811	5185	7996
Hamtramck .....	1	6	7
Highland Park .....	174	432	606
Royal Oak .....	17	36	53
Ferndale .....	26	74	100
River Rouge .....	11	21	32
Ecorse .....	7	14	21
Dearborn .....	83	134	217
Lincoln Park .....	12	18	30
Grosse Pointe Park .....	16	15	31
Wyandotte .....	7	24	31
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*Settlements.* Many of the Finns settled in Highland Park, where the Ford factory, in which many of them were employed, was then located. This settlement gradually grew until it extended from Webb Avenue to Six-Mile (McNichols) Road and from Hamilton Avenue to Grand River. Woodrow Wilson and Fenkell Avenues and the parts of the cross streets nearest them are most thickly populated by Finns in this section. Groups of Finns also live around the junction of East Davison and Joseph Campau, on Fourteenth from West Grand Boulevard to West Warren, on West Canfield and a few blocks north and south between Second and Third, and on Van Dyke between Vernor Highway and East Warren. The latest trend is west on Tireman and West Warren.

*Organizations.* When the little colony of Finns in the city was increased by newcomers in 1905/6, the idea of organizing some sort of society began to develop, and as a result the Finnish Socialist Club was organized. The club became a very live organization as the colony grew. Its gymnasium classes and athletic and dramatic clubs made a strong appeal and its membership increased rapidly. Soon the club collected money



for a piece of ground on which to build a clubhouse. After buying and selling twice, each time to advantage, the club bought a third city lot on Fourteenth Street, just south of West Grand Boulevard. On this lot a two-story building was erected, the ground floor arranged for shops and the second floor having a large hall with a stage and several smaller rooms. It was a clubhouse to be proud of, and it was the scene of great activity. Before taking possession the organization changed its name to the Finnish Educational Association. Unfortunately, political dissension soon arose and finally disrupted the organization. After the Russian Revolution many of its members adopted the Communist philosophy and those who could not go along with them withdrew, leaving the radicals in possession. With the loss of the more conservative members and the coming of the depression in the autumn of 1929, the burden of maintaining the property became too great and the mortgage on it was foreclosed. The club continues to occupy the building but now pays rent for its use. The Association has always maintained an interesting program of cultural activities. Finnish plays and plays translated into Finnish are frequently produced with artistic effect, lectures on social and political subjects are popular, and weekly dances provide recreation.

The Finnish Marxian Society was formed soon after the Educational Association. Most of its members belong to the I.W.W. organization, which, though Socialist in political theory, has for its main object the organizing of industrial labor. The Marxian Club, like the Educational Association, has dramatic and athletic groups and also a chorus of young men and women. Its headquarters are at 3747 Woodward Avenue.

The Kaleva Society, a national organization, has two Detroit chapters, one of Knights and one of Ladies. The society has its own hall at 13211 Montville Place, near Fourteenth Street. Its purpose is the preservation of the Finnish language and culture. The Finlandia Club, with a membership of men and



women of all groups except the Communist, is recreational in purpose. It meets in the main Y.W.C.A. building. Another recreational organization is the Finnish American Club, which meets at Webster Hall and includes business and professional men in its membership. The Finnish Independent Club, made up of young men and women, is chiefly interested in the drama and in music, and cooperates in all national Finnish celebrations and frequently presents programs for other Finnish organizations. The Finns in Dearborn have organized a Progressive Club, which is non-partisan but encourages an interest in politics.

Several cooperative ventures by Detroit Finns have failed, but a cooperative boarding house with a restaurant at 701 West Canfield Avenue survives [1934]. Among the most interesting of their enterprises is the Detroit Finnish Cooperative Summer Camp on a lake about thirty miles from Detroit, a beautiful place with about 165 acres of ground, partly wooded. Under the trees are scattered many wooden platforms where tents are erected during the summer season, and there are dozens of charming little cottages on the cleared ground. An excellent beach with a diving tower affords much sport to swimmers. A large dance hall, a dining room with a cafeteria where food is sold at cost, and a great "sauna" (steam bathhouse) surrounded by a wall so that the bathers may enjoy their sun baths in privacy in the space between, an outdoor theatre, an athletic field, and a cottage for underprivileged Finnish children have all been constructed by the labor of the men members. This cooperative enterprise was undertaken in 1922, and each summer sees improvement and new developments. A visit to the camp compels a feeling of respect and admiration for these new Americans of Finnish birth or parentage who have shown what wonders can be accomplished when people work together for the common good.

Although there are between nine and ten thousand people of Finnish birth or parentage in the Detroit area, they have acquired only one church building, which belongs to the Finnish

Evangelical Lutheran congregation and is located on Buena Vista at Fourteenth. A parsonage is a part of the church property. There are two congregations of the Finnish Apostolic Lutheran Church, one holding its services in the Norwegian church at Lincoln and Sturtevant Streets, the other at Thomson and Waverly, where the basement of a projected church has been completed. A small group of Finnish National Evangelical Lutherans meets in Kaleva Hall at 13211 Montville Place. The membership of all these churches probably does not exceed fifteen hundred. Theosophy has attracted a number of Detroit Finns, and a few are Christian Scientists. The majority have no close religious affiliations.

*Occupations.* The Finnish business section is located mainly on Woodrow Wilson between Webb and Six-Mile Road, in the heart of their largest settlement. These include a shoe store, a bakery, a tailor shop, a drugstore, a fish market, a meat market, a grocery store, two restaurants, and an undertaking establishment.<sup>3</sup> On the cross streets near Woodrow Wilson are several more shops owned by Finns, and in the downtown district at 1377 Verner Highway is a large steam bath establishment operated by a Finnish company.

Among the Detroit Finns are many skilled workers. A number of tailors who learned their trade in Finland are employed in several fashionable tailoring establishments, usually as cutters and fitters. Carpenters, painters, mechanics, and sheet metal workers who learned their trades in Finland had no difficulty before the depression in finding work at excellent wages. Most of the men, however, are employed in the automobile industry, chiefly at the Packard, Ford, Hudson, Briggs, and Lincoln factories and the Murray Body and Fisher Body plants.

Among the Finnish-born women in Detroit are a number who learned the tailoring and dressmaking trades in the home country. Several of them work in department stores as fitters

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<sup>3</sup>Survey made in 1932-3.

and in ladies' tailoring establishments. The greater number of Finnish women who find it necessary to increase the family income do so by taking boarders, doing day work, and cleaning schools and offices. Some of the American-born girls are in domestic service, but more are employed in offices and restaurants and by the D. M. Ferry Seed Company, the Burroughs Adding Machine Company, the Briggs Manufacturing Company, the Eureka Vacuum Cleaner Company, the Frederick Stearns Company, and Parke, Davis and Company.

Like the Swedes, the Finns believe in the benefits to be derived from massage, and in Detroit, as in every large American city, Finnish masseurs and masseuses make a good living. There are also ten or twelve beauty parlors owned and operated by young Finnish women.

The nursing profession has attracted many young Finnish women, and though the exact number who have taken professional training in Detroit hospitals cannot be stated, a conservative estimate places it at about fifty. At least ten or twelve young women of the group are teaching in the schools of Detroit and nearby towns, and the principal of the Ferndale Junior High School is a man of Finnish birth.

The professional group in Detroit includes four physicians, four dentists, (one a woman), six lawyers, three clergymen, possibly a dozen engineers, and three architects, one of whom<sup>4</sup> designed the beautiful municipal buildings in Dearborn known as the Civic Center and also several large apartment houses in Detroit.

In the Detroit musical world a young woman of Finnish parentage<sup>5</sup> is gaining recognition as a harpist, and a Finnish actor<sup>6</sup> deserves mention for the clever work he is doing with a Finnish group as well as with the Detroit News players.

*Relation to the Community.* The quiet, self-sufficient Finns are little known to the larger community of Detroit. They are a clannish people and find resources within their own group to

<sup>4</sup>John Kasurin.

<sup>5</sup>Martta Rantala.

<sup>6</sup>John Fernellius.

provide for their cultural and recreational needs. A Finnish name rarely if ever appears among those of lawbreakers. Until the depression most of them were prosperous and almost every family held home ownership as an aim. Unfortunately, the Finns began to acquire their properties when values were inflated, with the result that many lost all they had invested.

Most of the second generation of Finns in Detroit have reached adult age, a considerable number of the third generation are of high-school and college age, and the fourth generation is making its appearance. To one who has long associated with these people it appears that the country is indeed fortunate to include them in the heterogeneous population from which some day will evolve a truly American people.

#### GREEKS

GREEKS first began to come to Detroit in 1907/8, most of them from the Peloponnesus, and some from Crete. They settled on Macomb Street near Randolph, and from here the colony gradually spread to include parallel streets on the south, —Monroe, Lafayette, East Congress, and East Jefferson; north to Clinton Street; and east from Randolph to Russell Street. At first the colony consisted almost entirely of men, but as years passed and their financial condition improved, many who had left wives and children in Greece were able to send or go back for them and many unmarried men returned to their home villages and came back with wives.

When the colony began to include families its character changed, but it remained compact until about 1917, when those who had become well-to-do began to move into residence districts throughout the city, and Greek grocers settled in neighborhoods where they catered chiefly to native Americans. Greeks of a poorer class, chiefly those employed in the automobile factories, also left the original colony and settled near their places of work, not in colonies but in little knots of two or three families scattered east all the way to Grosse Pointe, west as far as Lincoln Park, and north to Royal Oak.

The original settlement, though depleted, may still be considered the Greek center in Detroit. The Monroe-Macomb Street district has<sup>7</sup> ten grocery stores, fourteen restaurants, twelve coffee houses, two drugstores, several barber shops, and a general store which sells almost everything from clothing to icons. Particularly interesting are the grocery stores with their exotic wares, where the Greek housewife buys everything needed in the traditional diet. The restaurants on Monroe Street cater almost exclusively to Greek patrons and serve roast lamb and pilaf<sup>8</sup> and other good things included in the fare of all Near Eastern peoples.

The 1930 Census lists the Greek population of Detroit and surrounding towns of ten thousand or more at about twelve thousand. It is probable that adding the Greeks in the Detroit area born in other countries than Greece would bring the number to about fifteen thousand. The following table shows the census data for Greeks and their American-born children in the Detroit area.

	Foreign born	American born	Total
Detroit .....	6385	3584	10,969
Hamtramck .....	89	48	137
Highland Park .....	181	105	286
Ecorse .....	44	12	56
Dearborn .....	297	161	458
Lincoln Park .....	25	40	65
Wyandotte .....	84	26	110
Royal Oak .....	39	32	71
Ferndale .....	24	36	60
Grosse Pointe Park .....	14	17	31
River Rouge .....	49	14	63
	8231	4075	12,306

*Occupations.* The opportunities for developing small businesses offered by a large city probably first attracted Greeks to Detroit, but when Henry Ford began in 1913 to pay a wage of five dollars a day many came to the city from other parts of the country. The majority of the newcomers found work in automobile factories, but many took advantage of the boom to

<sup>7</sup>Survey made in April, 1933.

<sup>8</sup>Rice cooked in lamb or chicken broth.

set themselves up in little grocery and confectionery stores, restaurants, coffee houses, and shoe-shining and hat-cleaning stands. Before the depression, according to an authority in the group,<sup>9</sup> Greeks in the city operated about two thousand restaurants, four or five hundred confectionery stores, about one hundred and fifty grocery stores, several hundred shoe-shining and hat-cleaning establishments, and numerous florist shops, in all about thirty-five hundred independent businesses. Many of them have been forced to the wall by the depression. The number of restaurants has been reduced almost by half and the grocery and confectionery stores have also suffered. Nevertheless, the greater number of Detroit Greeks are still either proprietors of individual businesses or work in hotels, restaurants, creameries, and laundries, as employees of other Greeks.

Several retail enterprises operated by Greeks have developed into wholesale concerns. Three deal in fresh fruits and vegetables, one in nuts and dried fruits, two in shoe-shining supplies, five in restaurant utensils, one in tobacco, and one in canned fruits and vegetables. The owner of the wholesale business in canned fruits and vegetables has also a large warehouse where he sells canned goods, meats, and fresh fruits and vegetables at retail. A company of Detroit Greeks owns a wholesale creamery, and there are also three laundries supplying clean linens for hotels, restaurants, and clubs. Detroit Greeks also own three large greenhouses and about fifty retail flower shops. The group also includes several photographers and real estate and insurance companies, two undertakers, five or six drugstores, and two automobile dealers.<sup>10</sup> Of the Greeks employed in the automobile industry, almost all are unskilled or have become skilled as molders, diemakers, etc., since going into the factories.

<sup>9</sup>Mr. C. Petrouleas.

<sup>10</sup> Information given by Mr. C. Petrouleas.

The professional group includes seven physicians, nine lawyers, five pharmacists, four dentists, a teacher, several chemists, and an engineer. With the exception of two physicians, all were educated in the United States.

A number of young men of Greek birth or parentage have studied at the University of Michigan or Wayne University. Three or four young women of the group have had a year of college training, but only one, a graduate of the American College in Constantinople, has completed a four-year course.

*Organizations.* In view of the factionalism characteristic of the Greeks and their unwillingness or inability to cooperate, it is not surprising to find a multitude of organizations in every colony. In Detroit there are about twenty mutual aid societies, a lodge of Odd Fellows, chapters of the national G.A.P.A. (Greek-American Progressive Association) with an auxiliary organization for girls, two chapters of Ahepa (American Hellenes Educational Association) with subsidiary branches of the Sons of Pericles and the Daughters of Penelope, the Veterans Democratic Club, the Greek Political Club, and an American Legion post (Hellenic).

Membership in the mutual aid societies is based on former residence in a common native district. Thus, the beneficial societies Pseloritis and Mani include men from the island of Crete and the province of Mani in Greece, respectively. These organizations try to care for their members when they are sick and to pay funeral expenses when they die, but during the depression they were not always able to do so. In normal times they occasionally sent contributions to their home towns for the aid of schools, churches, and hospitals. The G.A.P.A. has for its purposes the preservation of the Greek language, church, and customs. The chief aim of Ahepa is to interpret to native Americans the ideals and aspirations of Greeks in the United States, and to encourage its members to take an active part in the life of the larger community. The political clubs purpose to interest their members in American politics, and it is re-



ported that Greeks in Detroit are beginning to take an active part in the political life of the city.

The first Greek Orthodox church built in Detroit, a fine building, Byzantine in style, is on Macomb Street, near Hastings. The congregation a few years ago spent about thirty thousand dollars in decorating the interior and installing pews, the latter a victory for the modernists. About three hundred and fifty families support this church.

Though strongly opposed by the business men and others in the Macomb Street colony, who were left to support the original church, those who had moved out of the colony determined to establish places of worship nearer their homes. Two new congregations were organized, one on the East Side of the city, meeting in a hall at Fairview and Vernor Highway, and one on the West Side, meeting in a hall at Grand River Avenue and Fourteenth Street. The original church is under the authority of the Greek Archbishop, whose residence is in New York and whose jurisdiction extends over Greek Orthodox churches in the United States and Canada. The two newer congregations, though not heretical in belief, do not acknowledge his authority and are quite independent of it.

For some years the first Greek church conducted a full-time parochial school, where, needless to say, the equipment was inadequate and the teaching below standard. It was finally discontinued and classes maintained only after public school hours to instruct the children in the Greek language and the doctrines of the church. Most of the pupils are from the elementary grades, but there are a few high-school students among them. Two teachers are employed. The two newer congregations also support after-school classes. The burden of supporting three churches, three priests, and four teachers is a heavy one for the Greek group, and possibly cannot be borne much longer.

*Press.* Two Greek newspapers, *Athenai* and *Vima* (Greek Tribune), are published in Detroit. They are of small importance except as disseminators of advertising material, which,



with news of the activities of Greeks in Detroit, makes up their contents.

*Family Life and Status of Women.* Changes in the family and social system of Greek immigrants are slow. According to their tradition the place of women is definitely in the home. Until recently it was considered a disgrace for a Greek girl to work for wages and a reflection upon the ability of her father or brothers to support her, but now economic necessity is forcing many Greek girls and even older women to earn their own livelihood. Not many, as yet, have gone into the factories, though a few operate sewing machines in automobile factories, but in Detroit, as elsewhere, they are often employed as saleswomen in department stores and five and ten cent stores. Some work as cashiers and waitresses in restaurants, a few as typists and clerks, and others, usually older women, work for the D. M. Ferry Seed Company and for various Greek laundries. Greek women never go into domestic service or work as office cleaners or as laundresses in private houses.

*Social Life.* Fathers and mothers, as well as young people, attend the balls which are a favored diversion of the Greeks. They keep a watchful eye on their daughters, who are usually wise enough to dance only with men approved by their parents. In general, girls remain much under the influence of their mothers and the church. Boys have more freedom, but until they reach manhood they are generally held to the observance of church duties.

*Relation to the Community.* Immigrant Greeks outnumber the American-born generation by about two to one in Detroit. Most of the children are young and the family is generally of the Old World type. The group is chiefly composed of people who were underprivileged in their own country. Many have not acquired the English language and know little of American ways. Naturally they cling to old customs and feel secure only within the bounds of the colony. However, one Greek group in Detroit is finding its way into the larger community. Its members are interested in public affairs and some are beginning to

take an active part in them. Though the leaders are foreign born, they are generally intelligent and some are educated men.

An excellent future leadership of the Greeks in Detroit may be seen in the students who are now in colleges and universities. One of the students interviewed said he believed that university training makes Greek boys more conscious of their great heritage and develops a keener sense of responsibility toward their national group. Undoubtedly the development of an educated class, the practical cessation of immigration, and the passing of the early immigrants will hasten the process of assimilation, but it is to be hoped that the finer traditions of the Greeks will not be lost in the process.

Greeks are generally thrifty and many in Detroit are owners of real property, chiefly their places of business, though a number have bought the houses in which they live. They are a quiet people, and are rarely accused of violent crimes. When they do get into the courts the charges against them are usually gambling or violations of city ordinances.

#### HUNGARIANS

ACCORDING to the 1930 Census the Hungarian population of Detroit numbers 22,311, or 26,304 including towns of ten thousand or more in the Detroit area.<sup>11</sup> Including towns of less than ten thousand in the area, the whole number may be estimated at about 27,000. According to the Census, 12,943 of the group are foreign born and 13,361 of foreign or mixed foreign and native parentage. These figures include not only Magyars but also a considerable number of Jews and some other peoples of Hungarian birth.

Though postwar conditions in Hungary led to a revival of anti-Semitism there, it has gained little support among the Magyars in America. The Hungarian Jews speak the Magyar language and retain many Magyar customs, and the two groups continue to intermingle in social and business affairs

<sup>11</sup>Hamtramck, Highland Park, River Rouge, Ecorse, Lincoln Park, Wyandotte, Dearborn, Royal Oak, Ferndale, and Grosse Pointe Park.

in the new country. As a result of the social mingling of Magyars and Jews, some mixed marriages have been made and some Jews have gone over to Christian churches, but as a rule both marry in their own groups and adhere strictly to their traditional religion. An authority in the Jewish group estimates their number in the Detroit area to be about two thousand. The Hungarian Jews came to Detroit later than the Magyars, and there was no considerable number until about 1905. They came not from Hungary but from various towns in New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio where they had settled earlier. Some acquired small businesses in Delray or secured employment as clerks and salesmen, and others went into the automobile factories. After a few years a number left Delray and settled with other Jewish groups on Twelfth, Russell, and Hastings Streets. According to one of their leading men, they are rapidly merging with the Jewish community of the city.

*Settlements and Occupations.* The Hungarians, like other immigrant peoples who came to Detroit in the nineties, were attracted by the marked industrial development which began at that time. The first group of Hungarians came in 1896. They were joined two years later by several of their fellow countrymen who had gone first to Cleveland and Toledo. By 1899 there were sixteen Hungarian families in Delray, which at that time was not a part of Detroit. They settled on Scotten, McKinstry, Dix, and West End avenues, and the men found work with the Malleable Iron Company and the Solvay Process Company (the Hanna Furnace Corporation), in lumber yards, and with the Michigan Central Railroad as track gangs. The first Hungarian to own real estate in the Detroit area bought his bit of land in 1899. By 1905 at least thirty families were owners of home properties in Delray. Gradually a little Hungarian town grew up there with a grocery store, saloon, and bank. The proprietors of these institutions were reputed to know everything about the new country, and were the trusted guides and advisers of all the newly arrived immigrants. One of the oldest settlers, a woman who owned a grocery store

and saloon in the early days, reports that she often had as much as two thousand dollars in safe-keeping for her patrons.

Hungarians came in increasing numbers, usually from the coal mines and steel mills of cities farther east, and the Hungarian settlement in Delray stretched farther north, east, and west, and at present [1934] extends east and west from Military Avenue to the Rouge River, and north and south from West Jefferson to Lafayette Boulevard. A number of the early settlers have moved beyond this district and some of the newest comers have never lived there, but Delray continues to be the largest Hungarian settlement in the Detroit area. Some who came later settled on Franklin Street and others in the north end from Coolidge Highway to VanDyke, on Victor, Pasadena, Grand, LaBelle, Buena Vista, and adjoining streets. Most of the men of this group work in the automobile factories of the Ford Motor Company at Dearborn, the Briggs Manufacturing Company and the Chrysler Corporation in Highland Park, and the Dodge Brothers Corporation in Hamtramck. Those who settled on Franklin Street had as their neighbors Rumanians who, like themselves, came from Transylvania, the province held for centuries by Hungary, but lost to them by the terms of the Trianon treaty. Bitter as their feeling might be over the loss of Transylvania, they apparently preferred to live with the people who had been their neighbors in the home country rather than with those of their own blood and language in Delray and the north end who came from Hungary proper.

Hungarians in the Franklin Street neighborhood work for the Morgan Wright Company, tiremakers, the Carl Schmitt Company, tanners, and the Oak Belt Company, makers of machine belting. These are known in the neighborhood as the "rubber shop," "skin shop," and "belt shop." There are about thirty-five families in this colony and possibly two hundred in the north end group. Most of the Hungarians in the north end, like those in Delray, are property owners. Those who

live in the Franklin Street district are the least prosperous of the group.

When the Ford factory was established in Dearborn many Hungarians moved there and to Lincoln Park and Melvindale to be near their work. Somewhat larger groups have settled in River Rouge and Ecorse, where they are employed at the Great Lakes Engineering Works and the Whitehead and Kales Company, manufacturers of structural steel.

Since the war many skilled Hungarian workers and engineers have come to Detroit, where most of them are connected with the automobile factories. New as the Hungarians are in Detroit, they have produced a notable group of teachers, doctors, and lawyers. Twelve of the physicians in the city are Jews, and five Magyars. Ten of the lawyers, one a young woman, are Magyars, and about fifteen are Jews. There are six teachers, all Magyars.

*Churches.* In the part of Delray thickly settled by Hungarians, both Magyars and Jews, there are seven Christian churches and one synagogue. The churches in this area are located as follows:

Roman Catholic, 8405 South Street  
Greek Catholic (Uniate), 441 South Harbaugh Street  
Hungarian Reformed, West End and Vanderbilt Avenues  
Free Hungarian Reformed, 8020 Thaddeus Street  
Centenary Hungarian Methodist Episcopal, 8501 Dearborn Street  
First Hungarian Baptist, 8400 Vanderbilt Avenue  
First Hungarian Lutheran, 8151 Thaddeus Street

The synagogues of the Hungarian Jews are on Burdeno near West End Avenue in Delray and at the corner of Dexter Boulevard and Lawrence Avenue. The Hungarian Reformed church, established in 1904, was the first Hungarian church in Delray. The Roman Catholic church was established in the following year. The Pentecostal and Russellite sects have also organized congregations of Magyars in Delray.

Though there are only two Catholic churches for the group, from 60 to 65 per cent of the Magyars are Roman or Greek

Catholics. The Roman Catholic parish maintains its own day school, and each of the Protestant churches maintains a summer school during the vacation period. The aim of both the Catholic and Protestant schools is to instruct the children attending in the Magyar language and tradition and the tenets of their religious faith. Each of the Hungarian churches has a mutual aid society or societies as well as various religious and social organizations. The largest Hungarian organization in the city is the Louis Kossuth society.

*Other Organizations.* In addition to the societies connected with churches and synagogues, each of the national benefit societies, Verhovay, the Bridgeport Hungarian Federation, Rakoczi, and the Federation of American Hungarians, has a lodge in the city. The national society of the Calvinist Protestants, the Hungarian Reformed Association, has two lodges. The Woodmen of the World society is an exception to the general rule that native American organizations do not seek members among the foreign groups. This benevolent society includes members of several nationalities and is especially popular among Hungarians. The main Hungarian branch in Detroit has its own building in Highland Park, and there is a second "camp" in Delray. The women's auxiliary of the society constitutes about 40 per cent of the membership. The society offers various types of insurance.

The Hungarians are a markedly genial and hospitable people, and, as one would expect, have a number of organizations for recreation and sport. The Hungarian Women's Club has its own suite of rooms on West Jefferson Avenue and entertains its members with musical programs, card parties, and occasional lectures. The title of the Hungarian Country Club is a little misleading. It has no country clubhouse but promotes a love of rural life by organizing picnics, hikes, and other forms of rural pleasure. Its center is at Solvay Street and West Jefferson Avenue. Here also meets the flourishing Hungarian Athletic Club.

Interest in American politics is only newly awakened among Hungarians, and they have fewer political organizations than some foreign groups. The Delray Hungarians have three political clubs, one non-partisan, one composed of members of the Socialist Labor Party, and one of members of the Workers' Party. Hungarians in Highland Park have organized a United Hungarian Civic Club.

*Banks and Real Estate.* The Detroit Hungarians formerly had their own private banks, but they have disappeared during the depression. Though Hungarians are ambitious to own home property, they have never organized building and loan associations in Detroit, nor have there been contractors in the group to build houses for sale on the installment plan, as the Italian contractors have done. Nevertheless, the great majority of Hungarians in Delray and the north end are said to own their own houses.

*Press.* The three national Hungarian dailies, *Szabadsag*, *Amerikai Magyar Nepszava*, and *Uj Elore*, are widely read in Detroit, and two Hungarian newspapers, *Magyar Hirlap*, semi-weekly, and *Detroiti Ujsag*, weekly, are published in Delray. These papers give most of their space to local and general news, reports of societies, sports, and fiction. They publish also news from Hungary and general European news.

*Family Life and Status of Women.* American-born children of Magyar parentage, like those of other immigrant groups, have broken with many of the customs of their elders and in many cases rebel against absolute parental authority, but in general the family tie still holds in the group. The attachment of Hungarians to the church probably does much to keep the family together, and the church schools of both Catholics and Protestants help further to preserve family unity. The children still give their parents respect and obedience, though they may sometimes think European ideas of the parent-child relation old-fashioned and outworn.

In the United States, as in the home country, Magyar women occupy a position of equality with men, and there is little



subservience to be noted in their attitude. As a rule they are excellent cooks and housewives, and their many little yards full of flowers and vegetables show that they are good gardeners as well. In view of the status of Hungarian women it is natural that their daughters should receive all possible educational opportunities. Unmarried immigrant girls often go into domestic service, but those of the second generation almost invariably seek employment which will give them a higher social standing, though the pay may be lower. Those who have had little schooling usually go into factory work, but many who have had more educational advantages find positions in stores and offices as saleswomen, typists, and stenographers. Of those in factory work many are employed by the Ternstedt Manufacturing Company on West Fort Street, makers of automobile hardware, where the girls operate punch presses, drills, lathes, etc.; some at the Fisher Body plant at West End Avenue and Fort Street, where they operate sewing machines; and others at the Matthews and Ireland Company's factory, where screws are manufactured. The Yankee Girl and Webster Cigar tobacco factories and the American Lady Corset factory on the West Side also employ many Hungarian girls and women. A few work at the laboratories of the Frederick Stearns Company and Parke, Davis and Company, pharmaceutical manufacturers, making packages, filling bottles, and measuring drugs.

*Contributions to Culture in the Community.* Though the Hungarians are lovers of music, dancing, and the drama, they have formed no permanent organizations in Detroit to promote these arts. However, the distinguished poet, George Kemeny, who was the honor guest of the city of Budapest on the occasion of his initiation as a member of the Petofi Society, is a Detroit Hungarian. Other artists among Detroit Hungarians are Mr. Szepeszy (anglicized to "Sepeshy"), who in 1929 was awarded first prize in the Michigan Artists Exhibit; Mr. Nastfogel, whose theatrical scenery and masques have attracted much interest; Mr. Lavinger, who painted the charming murals



in the Children's Hospital; and Professor Marothi, formerly of the Academy of Commercial Fine Arts in Budapest, who executed the stone carvings for the Cranbrook School and designed the ceiling of the main lobby of the Fisher Building.

*Relation to the Larger Community.* The Hungarians in Delray almost from the first formed a self-sufficient town, served mainly by its own merchants, lawyers, and doctors. So far is this true to this day that in every shop, real estate office, and other place of business the Magyar language is spoken. Social life is mostly local and is carried on through churches, clubs, and societies. In spite of this isolation, the Detroit Hungarians have always constituted a solid and substantial body of citizens.

#### ITALIANS

THE first Italian to reach Detroit is said to have been Alfonso Tonti, who served as Cadillac's aide, and who from 1704 to 1706 and again from 1717 to 1728 was commandant of the city. It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century, however, that some of his fellow countrymen began to come to Detroit.<sup>12</sup> In 1855 there were about a dozen Italians in the city, all northern Italians from the region around Genoa, with the exception of one Neapolitan and one Tuscan. Cardoni Street in Detroit is named for Francesco Cardoni, one of these early settlers. Other Genoese soon followed, and in 1880 a few Lombardians from a town near Milan arrived. There were probably seven or eight families in this group. They were joined the following year by five more families from the same district.

Sicilians began to come to Detroit in 1883 from Cleveland. They had not done well in Cleveland, and hoped to make a fresh start in Detroit.

By 1894 the Italian colony was large enough to justify the

<sup>12</sup>See *Michigan History Magazine*, January, 1918, for article by Rev. John C. Vismara, "Coming of the Italians to Detroit" (pp. 110-124).

appointment of a priest, who made a survey of his flock one of his first duties. According to his census it included 62 families of Lombards, 60 of Sicilians, 54 of Genoese, 14 of Neapolitans, 8 of Tuscans, and 9 of Venetians, a total of 207 families, with 1,003 adults and 630 children.

The colony grew rapidly. Most of the newcomers came from Italy, but some drifted in from other parts of the United States. The great development of Detroit in the past twenty years required much heavy labor, of which the Italians provided a good part. Italians from the province of Palermo, Sicily, continued to come in larger numbers than Italians from the north, and now form by far the largest group among Italians in the Detroit area. By 1900 the colony had become so large that the Italian government established a consular agency in Detroit.

*Distribution in the Detroit Area.* The following table shows the number and distribution in the Detroit area of Italians and their American-born children, according to the 1930 Census.

	Foreign born	Foreign or mixed parentage	Total
Detroit .....	28,581	33,387	61,968
Hamtramck .....	277	346	623
Highland Park .....	979	1019	1998
River Rouge .....	90	148	238
Ecorse .....	91	124	215
Dearborn .....	754	760	1514
Lincoln Park .....	82	130	212
Wyandotte .....	203	339	542
Royal Oak .....	44	67	111
Ferndale .....	53	90	143
Grosse Pointe Park .....	58	89	147
	<hr/> 31,212	<hr/> 36,499	<hr/> 67,711

*Settlements.* Immigration from Italy has always been by towns or villages, and people from a common district continue to cling together in the new country. The Sicilians made their first settlement in Detroit on Fort, Larned, Congress, and other parallel streets as far north as Mullett Street, and extending east and west to St. Antoine and Orleans Streets. A second colony, coming in about equal parts from Sicily, the

Abruzzi, and the district around Rome, centered at Watson and Rivard Streets and extended north of Gratiot Avenue as far as Superior Street, and east from Rivard to Orleans.

Following the World War there was a break-up of nearly all the foreign colonies in the city, the Italian colony among them. High wages and thrifty living made it possible for many to buy or build houses for themselves in better neighborhoods. Their migration was hastened by Negroes who began to flood into Detroit about 1917 and found it necessary to live in the poorer districts of the city, usually occupied by foreign groups. By 1925 and 1926 the break-up of the Italian colonies was well under way. Italian contractors, alive to the business opportunity afforded them, began to build small houses by hundreds in several outlying districts and to sell them on contract for five or six thousand dollars, chiefly to unskilled laborers. The general trend of the movement was east and northeast, but smaller settlements were made in the southwestern part of the city in the Oakwood Boulevard section, northwest in the Fenkell Avenue district near Livernois Avenue, and at Oakman Boulevard and Twelfth Street. The largest of the new settlements is in the Chene Street section, stretching east and west from St. Aubin Street to Moran, and north and south from Forest to Charlevoix Avenues. Small clusters of Italians are scattered throughout the region east of Pennsylvania Avenue to Grosse Pointe and beyond. Another group is located northeast on Georgia, Bessemore, Peter Hunt, and other nearby streets north of Harper Avenue, and southeast on Cooper, Cadillac, Hurlbut, Bewick, and other streets east of McLellan Avenue. Still another group has settled on Davison Avenue near Joseph Campau. Those who remain in the old neighborhood are mostly people who had bought property there before the exodus began. It is said that the Italians have adopted a much higher standard of living since moving into new districts.

In addition to the Lombardians, Genoese, Romans, Sicilians, and Neapolitans in Detroit, there are about a dozen families from Sardinia scattered throughout the city, and two or three

hundred persons from the Republic of San Marino, the tiny independent state near the Adriatic Sea, entirely surrounded by provinces of the Kingdom of Italy.

*Occupations.* Most of the Italians in Detroit were unskilled laborers in their home country, but those from the north of Italy include many skilled stonecutters and tile and terrazzo workers. Almost all of those from San Marino and the Piedmont region are employed in the manufacture of terrazzo. Most of the unskilled immigrants work in the automobile factories and in construction work, digging sewers, laying pipes, and cleaning streets. A considerable number operate fruit and confectionery stands and sell produce in the Eastern Market. One of the richest wholesale fruit merchants of Detroit, a man who came from Genoa in 1865, laid the foundation of his fortune with the profits of a little fruit stand on Woodward Avenue, near the river. His son, now a well-known lawyer, was the first Italian in Detroit to receive a college education.

The development of a business group among Detroit Italians has been rapid and extensive. The December, 1930 number of the *Italo-American Commercial Guide*<sup>13</sup> lists these businesses as follows:

Retail grocers . . . . .	123	Druggists . . . . .	11	Blacksmiths . . . . .	1
Wholesale grocers . . . .	16	Barber shops . . . . .	6	Cleaners and	
Meat markets . . . . .	13	Printers . . . . .	7	dyers . . . . .	Several
Confectioners . . . . .	39	Hardware . . . . .	6	Circulating libra-	
Produce . . . . .	27	Photographers . . . .	5	ries . . . . .	2
Poultry . . . . .	6	Funeral directors . .	3	Dancing	
Butter, eggs,		Plumbers . . . . .	3	academies . . . . .	2
and cheese . . . . .	1	Florists . . . . .	3	Bowling alleys . . .	1
Beverages . . . . .	2	Bookstores . . . . .	3	Ladies' tailor . . .	1
Wholesale bakers . . . .	1	Accordian manu-		Signs . . . . .	1
Retail bakers . . . . .	2	facturers . . . . .	3	Chemical business .	1
Fish markets . . . . .	5	Clothing business . .	3	Banks . . . . .	1
Macaroni		Cartage . . . . .	2	Radio dealers . . .	1
factories . . . . .	1	Haberdashers . . . .	2	Real estate . . . . .	1
Ice cream . . . . .	2	Cigar manufac-		Garages . . . . .	7
Fruit markets . . . . .	3	turers . . . . .	3	Gasoline stations .	4
Contractors . . . . .	8	Coal dealer . . . . .	1	Automobile	
Excavators . . . . .	8	Moving business . .	1	repairing . . . . .	2
Cement contrac-		Funeral car busi-		Automobile	
tors . . . . .	4	ness . . . . .	1	dealers . . . . .	1
Plasterers . . . . .	4	Painters and		Automobile parts .	1
Marble workers . . . .	5	decorators . . . . .	1		
Railroad contrac-		Fumigating . . . . .	1		
tor . . . . .	1	Beauty parlors . . .	1		

<sup>13</sup>The name of the publication was changed to *Il Pivoto* with the January, 1931 issue.

The principal Italian business districts in Detroit are on St. Aubin, Dubois, Chene, Joseph Campau, Grandy, McDougall, and Moran Streets, between Gratiot Avenue and Superior Street, and on Gratiot between Russell and Chene. There is another district south of Gratiot between Larned and Charlevoix on St. Aubin and on parallel streets as far east as Mt. Elliott.

Early in 1929 there were six Italian banks in Detroit, but on June 30 of that year four of them closed their doors, and not long after the other two went out of existence. An Italian Chamber of Commerce was organized in Detroit in 1922 and was fairly active during its first five years, but after 1927 was unable to accomplish much, owing to economic conditions.

The professional group among Detroit Italians is extensive and is increasing rapidly. It includes [1934] eighteen lawyers, nineteen physicians and surgeons, twenty-four teachers, eleven pharmacists, three dentists, an architect, trained in Europe, and fifteen or sixteen engineers. Thirteen of the physicians and twelve of the engineers were educated in Europe. There is a group of five or six lawyers trained in Europe who are not practicing, but all those who are practicing were educated in Detroit. One of these is a woman. Another young woman who finished her law course in June, 1931 is employed in social work. The teachers are all American born. Four of these are from Detroit families, and most of the others come from towns elsewhere in Michigan. All but two who teach in parochial schools are employed in the Detroit public schools.

The director of the Legal Aid Bureau, an agency supported by the Detroit Community Fund, is of Italian parentage. There are four young women of Italian parentage in social work in the city, two with the Welfare Department, one with the International Institute, and one with Recorder's Court. The head of the Italian Department of the Foreign Language Division of the Public Library is an Italian, born in Europe. Two young women of Italian parentage are laboratory technicians. A number of Detroit Italians are employed as policemen and

streetcar motormen, but not many have reached higher positions in public service. However, one young man is an assistant prosecuting attorney and another is assistant to the State Attorney General.

*Italian Press.* Three Italian newspapers are published in Detroit—*La Voce del Popolo*, at 3442 McDougall Avenue, *La Tribuna Italiana d'America*, at 2751 East Jefferson Avenue, and *L'Avvenire* at 3826 McDougall Avenue. *La Voce del Popolo* maintains an independent point of view and is said to be the only Italian paper carrying on a campaign against the underworld. In general, it publishes European views and reports on affairs in Italy and the United States. *La Tribuna*, which is [1934] very favorable to the Fascist regime in Italy, encourages organization among Detroit Italians in order that they may have more voice in political matters. *L'Avvenire* is devoted to local politics and also urges the organization of Italians into a compact political group.

*Churches.* To serve the large number of Italian Catholics in the city there are only five churches, located at Brewster and Rivard, Cardoni and Rosedale Court, Hastings and Fort, Georgia and Raymond, and Twelfth and Oakman Boulevard. Two Italian priests who were formerly in charge of Italian churches now have congregations made up of various nationalities. There are also three small Italian churches of different Protestant denominations—a Methodist Episcopal church at 2972 East Lafayette, a Presbyterian church on Rivard near Gratiot, and a Baptist church at Cardoni and Caniff Street. The Baptist church raises half the money needed for its maintenance, and the other two are supported by the Methodist and Presbyterian Boards of Home Missions, respectively.

The Sicilians form the majority of churchgoers, Protestant as well as Catholics. Both priests and ministers report them to be more religious than their fellow countrymen, or at least more attentive to their church duties. However, this is probably true only of the first generation of Sicilians in the United States, who, poor and ignorant, without any knowledge of the

language and customs of the new country, cling to the one institution which gives them a feeling of security and social solidarity. The second generation of Sicilians, as of other Italian groups, tends to break away from the influence of the church. According to an Italian clergyman,<sup>14</sup> only about fourteen thousand of an estimated population of sixty thousand Italians in the city have church affiliations.

Unlike the Poles, the Italians have established few parochial schools. There are only three in Detroit—San Francesco, at Brewster and Rivard; Santa Maria, at Cardoni and Rosedale Court; and San Guiseppe, at Georgia and Raymond. In these schools the Italian language is taught only on Saturdays, and it is said that no particular emphasis is placed upon Italian culture.

*Organizations.* The national Italian organization, Figli d'Italia, is represented in Detroit by eleven lodges, the first of which was established in 1913. There are also about forty-four local and independent mutual aid organizations. Numerous social and sports clubs have a more or less impermanent existence. A political organization, the Voters' League, aims to consolidate the Italian vote and to use it for the advancement of Italian interests. It sponsors and works for the candidates approved by its members. The Esperia Club, composed mostly of leading young women of the second generation, and the Cornelia Club, whose members are mostly intelligent European-born women, both have altruistic aims. Organizations with a cultural purpose are the Circolo Educativo Italiano Leonardo da Vinci, the Bellini Musical Club, and a local branch of the national Dante Alighieri Society, membership in which is open to all students of the Italian language and literature.

*Social Life.* Many foreign groups, particularly those of Slavic origin, have halls which are the meeting place of their various organizations and the gathering point for all kinds of recreational and educational activities enjoyed by men, women, and children together, and which in some degree reproduce the

<sup>14</sup>Rev. A. E. Santini, deceased.



former life of town or village. The desire to be well thought of by these groups has a wholesome effect. However, the Italians have nothing to compare with the Polish "Home." Most of their societies have only male membership, and in the Figli d'Italia, which includes women's lodges, men and women members meet separately. The young people are dissatisfied with such a system and are trying to bring about more mingling of the sexes. With the drift from the church and the lack of cohesion in their social life, the restraining influences of religion and group opinion no longer function among Italians of a certain class.

In speaking of the unenviable reputation for lawlessness gained by Italians in large American cities, a prominent Detroit Italian said that Americans, in condemning the group, forget the large majority of thrifty, law-abiding people who deplore and detest the crimes of these outlaws as much as the native Americans do.

The continued isolation of the mass of Italian immigrants leaves them more or less in ignorance of community resources other than the public schools and, to some extent, the libraries. However, their American-born children mix with the larger community, chiefly through school attendance, and find themselves at home in it. No foreign group has made more progress in this respect than young American-born Italians, and it is the college and university bred youths among them who are now providing the leadership of the group. Italians of culture and education, both European and American born, are not limited to the national group, but form their associations with cultivated Americans and others on the basis of common interests and experience.

The strain of adjustment experienced by immigrant people is not sufficiently realized. The immigrant usually comes from the most primitive social environment to the extreme complexity of an industrial city, a change almost as violent as if he had migrated to another planet. His peasant



mind clings to old ideas and customs, he fears his new surroundings, and he condemns many things he does not understand.

To the Italian, the apparent laxity of American home life is particularly reprehensible, and he clings as long as he can to his old tradition of the family. In the home country the authority of the Italian father is unquestioned, particularly among the Sicilians and other southern Italians, and the family is his first care. In America the family life of Italians whose children are adolescent or adult is likely to be unhappy and frequently disintegrates. Children of Italian parentage seem to repudiate the language, religion, and customs of their fathers more often than do the children of other foreign groups. Though as a rule they do not mix with their American schoolmates outside the classroom, they quickly acquire an Americanism which is in violent contrast to the customs of their parents.

Often the boys break entirely away from parental control. This unfortunate situation is attributed by some Italian leaders to the conflict between the authority of the school and that of the parents. They say also that American education emphasizes the Anglo-Saxon psychology, culture, and tradition, and that as a result the Italian boy and girl acquire a feeling of inferiority in school which at home becomes one of superiority, and in the boy often results in insubordination. The parents usually know little English, but the boy's possession of the language enables him to move beyond the Italian neighborhood and to form new and often undesirable associations. A complete break of family ties often results. Control over the girls in the family is more easily maintained. Indeed, southern Italian girls are usually so strictly guarded that they have little freedom or social life of any kind. Girls of north Italian parentage have always had more freedom, and it is the custom for them to enjoy social recreation with young men.

Economic pressure is forcing Italian girls and even married women into the working world. Many are employed as sten-

ographers and office clerks. The D. M. Ferry and Lohrman Seed companies, and Parke, Davis and Frederick Stearns, pharmaceutical manufacturers, employ many. Many work in the alteration and sewing rooms of the department stores and as saleswomen and parcel wrappers. Others find employment in the five and ten cent stores, in tailor shops and dressmaking establishments, and in candy factories on the East Side, and a few in laundries. Formerly Italian women seldom went into domestic service or worked by the day as cleaners and laundresses, but necessity has compelled some of them to seek employment of this kind. Those in domestic service are usually employed by well-to-do Italian families.

The Italian married woman of the working class has practically no recreation except what she gets through her church and occasional parties given by her husband's lodge, if he belongs to one. The isolation of some of the Italian women who came to the city years ago is often extreme, and their condition remains quite unaffected by the progress which many of their sisters have made both in the Old World and the New.

Although there are still probably three times as many Italian boys as girls in American high schools and colleges, girls in increasing numbers are being given educational opportunities.

The story of the third generation of Italians will probably be a different and happier one. Contrasts between new and old will not be so great, the better education of the next generation of parents should make for more intelligent handling of family situations, and a better environment will doubtless be a factor in developing the potentialities of future Americans of Italian descent.

*Contributions to Community Culture.* On the whole, Italians in Detroit appear to have demonstrated their practical rather than their artistic tradition. Many have prospered financially and the educational status of the group has certainly been raised by the achievements of the American-born children, but in the fields of music and painting and sculpture no Italian names have so far become known in Detroit beyond

the limits of the group. Though the Italians are a musical people, they have no permanent musical organizations in Detroit to compare with the choruses and orchestras of the Poles, Croatians, Serbians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and others. It is difficult to say why this is so, though it is possible that their intense individualism prevents their getting together.

The mass of Italians in Detroit are obscure working folk, many of whom have not learned the language of the new country or the ways of native Americans. Participation in the life of the larger community is impossible until one feels one's self a part of it, and this consciousness the immigrant rarely attains. However, his children do have it, and among the American-born Italians there is a clearly discernible movement to gain place and recognition in the community.<sup>15</sup>

#### JUGOSLAVS

JUGOSLAVS began to come to the copper mines of northern Michigan as early as 1890, but few if any reached Detroit at that time. In 1905 there were only forty or fifty Croatians in the city and still smaller numbers of Serbians and Slovenians. All, with the exception of a Croatian woman who in the early 1930's still lived in the house to which she had come thirty years before, were men either unmarried or with families in Europe. Practically none of them emigrated directly to Detroit but had settled first in Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and other industrial cities.

The first group of Jugoslavs in Detroit were brought to the city by the American Car and Foundry Company and settled on Russell and nearby streets close to their place of work. This colony extended north and south from Hancock to Ferry Avenue and east and west from Dequindre to Beaubien Street.

<sup>15</sup>Detroiters of Italian birth or parentage who contributed to this study include Dr. P. F. Carlucci, Dr. Giovanni Annessa, Rev. Joseph Ciarrochi, Rev. John C. Vismara, Rev. A. E. Santini (deceased), Rev. V. A. Castelucci, Rev. Valentino Panizolli, Mr. V. Giuliano (editor, *La Tribuna*), Mrs. V. Giuliano, Mr. V. Esperti, Mr. L. Bugelli, Mrs. Rose Esperti Tomasino, and Miss Angelina DiMartino.

A little later Croatians and Slovenians from the Upper Peninsula of Michigan began to move to Detroit to work in the automobile factories. The number increased rapidly when Henry Ford fixed his wage at five dollars a day, and following a strike in the copper region in 1914 two or three thousand more came to the city. In 1919 another group of Slovenians joined their countrymen in Detroit. During the World War there was no possibility of immigration from Europe, but afterward many Serbians, Croatians, and Slovenians flocked to the United States. At the same time, however, many returned to Europe to rejoin their families. With the annual quota for Jugoslavs fixed at 845, there is now small net gain in immigration.

*Settlements.* The decade following 1920 brought many changes to the original settlement on Russell Street. The better financial condition of many has made it possible for them to buy property away from the noise and dirt of the city. The old colonies have broken up and moved north, east, and west, and down the river beyond Wyandotte. A group composed mostly of Croatians, but including a few Serbians and Slovenians also, is now living north of McNichols (Six-Mile) Road between Woodward Avenue and Dequindre Street. The majority own the houses in which they live, some of which are valuable properties.

Another group, composed of both Serbians and Croatians who formerly worked at the Ford factory in Highland Park, invested in real estate there on Cottage Grove and Victor Avenue and Pasadena Street, mostly east of John R. Street, and also along Davison Avenue east of John R. as far as Dequindre Street. Many Serbians and a few Croatians and Slovenians have recently moved to the new Fenkell Avenue district in the northwestern part of the city. Clairepointe Avenue and adjacent streets, south of East Jefferson Avenue, are peopled almost entirely by Serbians. A few Serbians also live east on Centerline Road north of Harper Avenue.

The Slovenians have never made a compact settlement in Detroit but are scattered throughout the city in very small groups. West, in Delray, a few settled on Military and Dragoon Streets; east, on French Road and Mt. Elliott Avenue; northwest, in the neighborhood of Fenkell Avenue; north, around Geneva Avenue and Twelfth Street; and also north between the boundaries of Six- and Seven-Mile Roads and Woodward Avenue and Dequindre Street there are about thirty or forty Slovenian families.

After the Ford factory was moved to Dearborn in 1928 a considerable number of all three groups moved there and to the nearby towns of Ecorse and River Rouge. Others have gone to Wyandotte, where they are employed by the Michigan Alkali Company, the Great Lakes Engineering Corporation, and the J. B. Ford Company, manufacturers of chemicals.

There is also a small group of about thirty Mohammedan Jugoslavs from Bosnia in the city. The ancestors of these Jugoslavs were converted centuries ago by the Turks during their long occupation of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Serbia. Although these people speak the language of the Jugoslavs, they have no connection with their local compatriots. Their associates are Mohammedans, particularly Turks, the bond of religion apparently being stronger than the bonds of race or language.

The Yugoslav population in the Detroit area is estimated at something over twenty thousand. The Croatians are said to number at least ten thousand, the Serbians from eight to ten thousand, and the Slovenians about three thousand.

Most of the Croatians have left the neighborhood of Russell Street, but two or three thousand Serbians who are connected with business establishments there, and also unmarried men living in boarding houses in the original colony, remain there. The settlement also continues to be the center of communal interests, for the national halls of both the Serbians and Croatians and the meeting places of their various societies are still located in the Russell Street district.

*Occupations.* Most of the Detroit Yugoslavs of all three groups are employed in automobile factories where some of them have become skilled workers. Groups of business men have developed in each of the national groups. Fifteen Croatians are in the grocery business and about the same number are proprietors of restaurants and small hotels. Six own dry-goods stores, two are contractors and builders, and three are dealers in meats and three in coal. Among the Serbians seven are proprietors of restaurants, three of coffee houses, three of hardware stores, two of clothing stores, eight of tailor shops, one of a jewelry store, and several of barber shops and grocery stores. The Slovenians also have a growing business group. Five are in the hardware business, two own meat markets, and two are proprietors of grocery stores. Numerous gasoline stations are owned by men of all three groups.

The development of a professional class proves in some measure the intellectual advance made by the Yugoslavs in Detroit. The Croatian group includes two lawyers, three engineers, and three teachers employed in the Detroit Public Schools. Three Serbian men have graduated from law schools, two in Europe, one from the University of Detroit. One is in active practice and the other two are employed in the foreign departments of Detroit banks. Two Serbian men are doctors on the staffs of Detroit hospitals. A Detroit Serbian who holds many patents for mechanical inventions and who is a relative of Nicolai Tesla is a consulting engineer with the Timken Axle Company and the General Motors Corporation. A young Serbian woman, a graduate of Detroit Teachers College, employed in the public schools, was invited by the Yugoslav government to teach for a year in Belgrade. The Slovenians, the latest of the Yugoslavs to come to Detroit, have not yet produced a professional group.

*Churches.* Each of the three branches of the Yugoslavs has established one church in the Detroit area. The church of the Serbians (Eastern or Greek Orthodox) is located at the corner of Russell and Warren, the Croatian (Roman Catholic) church

at Oakland and Melbourne, the Slovenian church (Roman Catholic) at Geneva and Twelfth. At each church the priest conducts classes after school hours in the language, history, and religion of the group he represents.

The Croatian church was dedicated more than twenty years after the first Croatians began to come to Detroit. The priest estimates the parish at about one hundred and fifty families. He reports attendance at services to be very poor and attributes the drift from the church to leaving the colony so long without a religious leader. He states that some of the second generation attend American Catholic churches, but that few if any have become interested in churches of other faiths. The church building occupied by the Croatians formerly belonged to one of the Protestant denominations.

The original church of the Serbians in Detroit, established in 1916, was a small wooden building on Russell Street, near Warren. The new church at the corner of Russell and Warren is a replica of one of the most famous churches in Serbia. When completed, its cost, together with the school and rectory, will reach \$75,000, a heavy burden for a membership of less than five hundred people to carry. This is the only Serbian church in Michigan. Like the Croatians, the Serbians are apparently not so strongly attached to their church here as they were in the home country.

The little church of the Slovenians is in the far northern part of the city, at Geneva Avenue and Twelfth Street. Its membership numbers about two hundred. Although the first Slovenians came to Detroit as early as 1909, the Slovenian church was not organized until several years later, after a considerable number of Slovenians who had come to Detroit from the copper country felt the need of a church of their own and set about getting one.

The church people of the Slovenian and Croatian groups tend to separate themselves from the non-church groups and to center most of their social life in the church and the fraternal society connected with it.



*Other Organizations.* All the Yugoslav national societies have branches in the Detroit area. The Serbian National Federation has five, one meeting on Clairepointe Avenue, two on Russell Street, and one in Wyandotte. Unity (Serbian) has one branch in Detroit and one in Wyandotte. Both of these national societies have lodges for junior members. The Croatian Federal Union has four branches in the Detroit area, two meeting in the hall at 1329 East Kirby Avenue, owned by Lodge No. 2 of the Union, one in the clubhouse of the Croatian Singing Society at 116 McNichols (Six-Mile) Road West, and one in Wyandotte. The Slovenian National Beneficial Union has four branches, three of which meet at the clubhouse on McNichols Road and one at the Slovenian Workers Home at 437 Artillery Street in Delray. The Slovenians of this society hope to build their own *dom* (home) on land they bought some time ago at John R. and McNichols Road. Connected with the Detroit branches of the Union are two lodges whose members are second-generation Slovenians. The purpose of these lodges, the Young Americans and the Wolverines, is to further a knowledge of the Slovenian language, culture, and tradition. Their activities are chiefly social and athletic, but they have not lost sight of their cultural aim, which is developed through a monthly magazine, half in English and half in Slovenian, for which the members furnish the literary material. The Yugoslav Catholic Union, a national Slovenian beneficial society, has one branch in Detroit. The Yugoslav Socialist Union (Slovenian) has three branches, one of which meets in the hall at 437 Artillery Street, the other two at the clubhouse at 116 McNichols Road West.

The Mohammedan Yugoslavs of Detroit have a branch of their national organization, the Moslem Benefit Association of Bosnia, which meets in a coffee house at 580 East Fort Street.

Each of the two national beneficial societies controlled by the Croatian and Slovenian churches, the Croatian Catholic Union and the Slovenian Catholic Beneficial Union, has a

branch in the Detroit area. These societies meet in the church halls of the two groups.

The National Croatian Educational Association has a Detroit branch which meets in the hall at 1329 Kirby Avenue East.

There are also several local Yugoslav organizations of a more or less permanent character. The Yugoslav Educational Society includes both Serbians and Croatians. A dramatic society, Iskra, has developed from its membership. Another cultural organization is the Montenegrin Educational Club, which stresses the drama and presents only plays which reproduce epic events in the history of Montenegro. The Yugoslav American Independent Club was organized several years ago with the purpose of drawing Serbians, Croatians, and Slovenians into a closer relationship and thereby creating a greater feeling of unity. However, the present situation in the home country and the resulting bitterness of feeling between Serbians and Croatians promises little success in coordinating the two groups in the United States.

The Yugoslav Sokols, whose purpose is to develop an interest in athletics, is composed almost entirely of young Serbian men. Connected with it is a junior group of small children. In June, 1930 the Sokols sent a team of six to a great athletic meet in Belgrade, Serbia.

Much of the social life of the European-born Yugoslavs is carried on in connection with their various organizations. The youth of the second generation, however, tend to seek their social pleasures elsewhere.

*Family Life.* The great desire of all Yugoslavs is to own property, and it is said that there is scarcely a man among those in Detroit who does not own at least one lot. Many who bought or built their homes were able to do so through membership in the Croatian Building and Loan Association of Detroit. These thrifty and ambitious people impose the strictest economy upon themselves, doing without everything but the barest necessities until their property is clear of debt.

A serious transition takes place in the Yugoslavian family almost as soon as it settles in America, a change made inevitable by the differences in the Old World and New World situations. In Yugoslavia at least 85 per cent of the people get their living from the soil under very difficult conditions. The cooperation of the entire family is necessary if its members are to survive, and this close interdependence is one of the most important factors in developing the family as the social unit. Under these circumstances the parents maintain an almost absolute authority. In America the family is not united in the same work. Often each of its members is engaged in a different occupation and the father is no longer the authority to whom they look for direction. Another powerful influence in the disintegration of the family unit is the individualism of their American neighbors. Soon the younger generation loses the sense of family solidarity and the parents fight a losing battle to maintain Old World authority and to preserve the Old World family. Where it is possible to retain the traditional interdependence, the family as a whole prospers in the new country.

The songs of the Yugoslavs laud the heroic mother and indicate the influence of women, but the predominating factor in the Yugoslav family, as in the families of most European peoples, is the father. The advancement of the sons is the first consideration, and in the New World as in the Old the education of the boys is considered of first importance. However, Yugoslav parents realize that without education their daughters have few opportunities in the new country and they strive to give their girls all possible educational advantages.

Apparently more Serbian than either Croation or Slovenian women in Detroit have gone into the factories. Many of the Croatian women keep boarding houses, clean offices, or do other heavy work. More women of the Slovenian group than of the other two groups have become domestic servants. Many Serbian women are employed by the Hudson Motor Company, Dodge Brothers, the Briggs Manufacturing Company, the

Chrysler Motor Company, and the Cadillac Motor Company, where they operate punch presses, drills, etc. The Jenks and Muir Manufacturing Company, makers of springs and cushions for automobile seats, also employs a number of Serbian women to operate sewing machines. Others work at the factories of the Murphy Chair Company and the National Can Company, at the Ferris, Forest, and Famous dry cleaning establishments, and at several cold storage plants, where they sort eggs, fruits, and vegetables. Others work in cigar factories and tailor shops in the Russell Street district. Many are employed in laundries.

Practically all women working in these industries are European born. The anxious concern of most Yugoslav parents is that their daughters may be trained to other and easier kinds of work, and consequently many girls after finishing the elementary grades or high school enter business schools to learn typing, stenography, and bookkeeping. Many girls of the second generation hold office positions or find work in department stores as wrappers and saleswomen.

*Contributions to Community Culture.* The Yugoslavs love music, and in every city where they have settled in any numbers choruses and orchestras flourish. So far, cheap popular music has not lured them entirely away from their own beautiful folksongs. No festive occasion is complete without the music of a tambourica orchestra. The tambourica is the native instrument of the Serbians and Croatians. It is wire stringed, shaped somewhat like a guitar, and is played with a plectrum. Tambourice vary greatly in size, from a little toylike instrument to one the size of a bass viol. No one who has heard the music of a tambourica orchestra can ever forget its appealing charm. There are seven or eight of these orchestras in Detroit. Two are more or less professional, but the others, including one composed of boys from fourteen to eighteen, were organized simply for the pleasure to be derived from music.

The national dances of Jugoslavia are still in high favor with the Serbians and Croatians in the United States. Perhaps the

favorite is the Kolo, a ring dance of any number of people who, with arms entwined, circle right and left with a prescribed number of steps. The music of the tambourice grows faster and faster, and the feet of the dancers seem scarcely to touch the floor.

Each of the three divisions of the Yugoslavs has its own chorus in Detroit. That of the Croatians was organized about 1912 by the man who is still its much loved director. It is called *Slavulj* (Nightingale) and is considered one of the best Croatian choruses in the United States. *Slavulj* has its own clubhouse on McNichols Road near Woodward Avenue where its members meet for rehearsals at least three evenings a week. It numbers more than fifty men and women, who always appear on the stage in the costumes of their native district in Croatia. Only the songs of the mother country are in their repertoire, and though most of them are folksongs the new music from home is also eagerly studied. The Serbian chorus, *Vishnich*, organized about 1915, and the Slovenian choruses, *Ljubljanski Vrk* and *Sloboda*, are both active.

In the field of painting, a young Croatian and three young Serbians are gaining recognition in the city. Two of them are often represented in the Annual Michigan Artists' Show and the exhibitions of the Scarab Club of Detroit.

*Relation to the Community.* The difficulty of participating in the life of the larger community is practically insurmountable to immigrants without a knowledge of the language and customs of the country, and without financial resources and some connection with native Americans. When a more secure economic basis and some ability to use the language and some acquaintance with American customs are gained, the family may venture forth from the protection of the group and seek a new environment. The second generation, educated in American schools and associated with Americans in business and the professions, do form contacts outside the group. Often they intermarry with Americans or people of other nationalities and gradually become absorbed into the larger community. This

process is going on among the Jugoslavs. The colony has broken up, the first step in assimilation, but most of the second generation children have not yet reached maturity. Only a few Jugoslavs have made many community contacts or participated much in community activities or availed themselves to any extent of community resources.

#### LITHUANIANS

**L**ITHUANIANS are reported to have settled in Detroit as early as 1886. Others came in the early years of the century, but there was no considerable settlement until after 1913, when Henry Ford fixed the daily wage in his factory at five dollars and many Lithuanians flocked to the city. By 1917 they had formed a large settlement. Among the earliest arrivals were lumberjacks who came to the city to sign up for work in lumber camps in northern Michigan and Wisconsin. These were usually unattached men who were often in Detroit between jobs. Most of the early arrivals in Detroit came from the coal-mining districts of Pennsylvania, Oklahoma, and Kentucky, but some were immigrants directly from Europe who left their country following the Russian revolution of 1905. Lithuania was then a part of the Russian Empire, and many Lithuanians who had taken part in the revolution in the hope of gaining autonomy for their country found it best to emigrate when the uprising proved a failure.

*Settlements.* The first Lithuanian settlers were employed at various foundries, chiefly those of the Aluminum Manufacturing Company on Dunn Road and the Bohn Aluminum and Brass Corporation on East Grand Boulevard. The first colony, on the East Side, with Westminster and Cardoni Streets forming the center, was near these foundries. Another nucleus developed in Delray, centering on Woodmere Street. When Lithuanians began to reach the city in large numbers, after 1916, a third colony grew up in the region around 25th Street and Vernor Highway. This colony is now larger than the earlier settlements.

A number of Lithuanians have moved from the colonies and scattered to every part of Detroit, and the three settlements have expanded from their centers until they now cover the following areas: That on the East Side extends from Cardoni east almost to the city limits, and north from Clairmount Avenue into Hamtramck. The West Side settlement extends from 24th Street to Livernois, and from Vernor Highway to Warren Avenue. The formerly compact settlement in Delray now scatters, except for the nucleus on Chamberlain Street, to Ecorse, River Rouge, Melvindale, and Dearborn.

*Occupations.* The Ford Motor Company in Dearborn employs the majority of Lithuanians in Delray and the West Side group, but some find work at other automobile factories and at the foundries of such companies as the Detroit Steel Casting Company and the Detroit and Michigan Stove Works. Though immigrant Lithuanians were usually unskilled laborers, most of those of the second generation now in Detroit factories are said to be skilled workmen.

Though the greater number of Lithuanians in Detroit and its environs are employed as factory laborers, many have established businesses of their own. The Detroit Lithuanian Chamber of Commerce lists the following among the business enterprises of its members:

Funeral director	Shoe shop
Druggists (4)	Paper hanger and decorator
Electrical supplies	Automobile service station
Electrical contractor	Photographers (4)
Baking companies (3)	Butcher shop
Printing companies (2)	Grocery stores (4)
Real estate and fire insurance (3)	Jewelry store
Life insurance	Plumbing companies (2)
Drygoods, shoes, and notions	Bottling works
Manufacturers of soft drinks (wholesale) (2)	Manufacturer of concrete blocks
	Coal company

The group is well represented in the professions [1934] by six physicians, three lawyers, one of whom is a young woman admitted to the bar in 1931, one dentist, five engineers, three teachers, and two nurses.



In normal times few married women among the Lithuanians work outside their own homes. Many unmarried girls are employed as domestic servants and in stores and offices, and some are employed in various factories.

*Distribution in the Detroit Area.* The following table shows the distribution of Lithuanians in the Detroit area in 1930, according to the census of that year. Though the figures include all people born in Lithuania, it is probable that most are of Lithuanian descent.

Lithuanians in the Detroit Area (1930)

	Of foreign or mixed		Total
	Foreign born	parentage	
Detroit .....	4879	5726	10,605
Hamtramck .....	402	503	905
Dearborn .....	175	206	381
Wyandotte .....	40	67	107
Lincoln Park .....	36	55	91
Highland Park .....	35	55	90
Ecorse .....	19	30	49
River Rouge .....	11	23	34
Ferndale .....	10	17	27
Royal Oak .....	3	5	8
Grosse Pointe Park .....	..	3	3
	<hr/> 5610	<hr/> 6690	<hr/> 12,300

*Churches.* As among all immigrant groups, the first organizations to develop among the Lithuanians, most of whom are closely attached to the Roman Catholic communion, were churches. Their first church in Detroit, St. George's, was a little wooden structure on the site of the present imposing building at Westminster and Cardoni Streets. The second church was St. Anthony's, at 25th Street and Vernor Highway; and the third, St. Peter's, at Longworthy and Mullane in Delray. St. George's and St. Anthony's maintain full-time parochial schools.

*Organizations.* Most of the anti-church, radical Lithuanians live among the groups on the West Side and in Hamtramck. The Communists are very active in forming educational groups and promote many lectures, concerts, and dramatic performances at their hall at 3205 Junction Avenue.

The Lithuanian National Alliance, which includes every group except the Communist, is represented in Detroit by three branches. The Lithuanian Workers of America is a Communist split-off of the Alliance. Another important national society, the Knights of Lithuania, has a branch in each of the Lithuanian churches in the city. This society, which corresponds somewhat to the men's societies of Protestant churches, interests itself chiefly in athletics and sports.

Many Lithuanians had settled elsewhere in the United States before coming to Detroit, and were not young people when they came to Detroit. Many of the second generation have grown to maturity in this country, but the group retains its European consciousness and few have married native Americans or mixed socially with them. Such mixed marriages as they have made have usually been with people of other immigrant groups. Though many have broken entirely with the church, it still holds the greatest number of them, and the church, the national societies, and the radical political organizations are the real centers of Lithuanian life in America. With the three churches in Detroit are connected many religious, beneficial, and social organizations.

One of the leading Lithuanians in Detroit gives it as his opinion that Communism is dying out among his people, owing to the disillusionment of those who have returned from Russia and reported adversely on conditions there. However, another leader, himself a political conservative, believes that Communism is growing among Detroit Lithuanians, and attributes the increase to economic conditions rather than to propaganda. Both agree, however, that Communists are recruited from European-born Lithuanians, and that the second generation fear and avoid them. Bootlegging also is laid at the door of the first generation, and not to those born in the United States. In general, the leaders seem to have great hope of the new generation, who, they say, are eager for education and do all they can to improve their status. Girls as well as boys are sent to college when it is possible.

## POLES

AS early as 1855 five or six Polish families had settled in Detroit, and two years later Polish farmers settled in Huron County. However, it was not until about the middle of the seventies that the Polish group in Detroit reached any appreciable size. From that time the colony grew steadily, until it numbered in 1930 about three hundred thousand in the Detroit area.<sup>16</sup> The fourth generation of Polish children is now growing up and one of the oldest Polish settlers reports that the fifth generation has made its appearance.

The first settlement in Detroit was on Canfield and Garfield Avenues, between Orleans and St. Aubin Streets, and in what was then Woodland the first Polish church was built. A second group soon settled on 20th Street and spread to 21st, 22d, and 23d, and a church was built for this colony. A church is considered the first need of a colony, and the many Polish Roman Catholic churches on the East and West Sides and in north Detroit and Hamtramck indicate the sections most thickly populated by Poles.

A few of the early arrivals acquired land in the Chene-Warren district, and true to their Old World traditions became farmers on a small scale. However, the work to be done in a growing city attracted the greatest number of Poles to Detroit. The city was beginning to expand in the eighties. Streets were being extended and paved, sewers were being laid, and various new industries were erecting factories. The Poles first found work as unskilled laborers on the highways, at the American Car and Foundry Company, at the Michigan Central depot, and at the various stove works on the East Side. Skilled Polish labor was attracted to Detroit when the automobile industry began to develop. Many of these workers—mechanics, millwrights, diemakers and toolmakers, draughtsmen, and engineers—had their early training in the old country. Others who were at first common laborers later took rank as skilled workmen.

<sup>16</sup>Information given by the Polish Consul in Detroit.

*Location of Colonies.* It was probably twenty years after the Poles made their first settlement in Detroit that a group moved north into Hamtramck. Since 1910 the Polish population of Hamtramck has increased so rapidly that in 1930 about 80 per cent of its people were Polish born or of Polish descent. Poles are largely represented in the Hamtramck city government and public affairs, and it is estimated that about 76 per cent of those attending the public schools are of Polish birth or descent.<sup>17</sup>

The original colonies in Detroit began to break up and move to the east and north after the World War, when high wages and the habit of thrift made it possible for many to move to more desirable sections. About two-thirds (200,000) of the Poles in the Detroit area live in Detroit, about 85,000 in Hamtramck, and about 15,000 in River Rouge, Wyandotte, Fordson, and Dearborn. The Polish area in the eastern and northern parts of Detroit and Hamtramck stretches north and south from Mack Avenue to the Eight-Mile Road and east from Orleans Street to Van Dyke Avenue. On the West Side the Poles live in the district extending west from Maybury Grand Avenue almost to Oakman Boulevard, and north and south of Michigan Avenue from the Michigan Central Railroad to Tireman Avenue. A third small group, probably of not more than five hundred families, has developed in Dearborn since the Ford factory was moved there from Highland Park.

Local business sections have been developed in the various Polish colonies. On the East Side the business section stretches along Chene Street from Canfield to Milwaukee. The Hamtramck section extends along Joseph Campau Avenue from Denton to Carpenter, on the west along Michigan Avenue from Maybury Grand to the limits of Dearborn, and on Warren west

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<sup>17</sup>Information given by the Accounting Department of the Hamtramck Schools.

past Dearborn to Warrendale. The retail businesses in these districts are:

Grocery stores .....	574	Clothing stores .....	87
Butcher shops .....	127	Drygoods stores .....	160
Drugstores .....	74	Furniture stores .....	36
Shoe stores .....	70	Jewelers' shops .....	35
Hardware stores .....	83	Real estate firms .....	177
Electrical supply stores .....	25		

The Detroit area also has twenty-five moving picture theatres in Polish districts, fourteen assembly halls owned by Poles, about sixty banks, and two savings and loan associations.

*Churches and Schools.* According to the Catholic Directory there are thirty Polish Roman Catholic churches in the Detroit area, and, connected with them, twenty-four parochial schools, including four high schools, with an enrollment of almost thirty thousand children.<sup>18</sup> Three of the high schools are in Detroit and one in Wyandotte. Instruction in the parochial schools is in the hands of convent sisters belonging to the Felician, Nazareth, St. Joseph's, and Franciscan orders. The teachers in eighteen of the twenty-four parochial schools are nuns of the Felician order. At the convent of the Felician Sisters, 4232 St. Aubin Street, the nuns conduct a school for girls and also train those preparing to enter the sisterhood.<sup>19</sup>

Four Polish National churches have been established in the Detroit area. These are located on Chopin Street between Michigan and McGraw in Detroit; at Halleck and Mitchell Streets in North Detroit; at Pulaski and Fleming Streets in Hamtramck; and on Orange Street in Wyandotte. Three of these churches conduct parochial schools, two of which include eight grades and one six grades.

In Detroit, as elsewhere, Protestantism has made slight gains among the Polish people. There are only four small Protestant congregations in the city—Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist Episcopal, and Congregational, located, respectively, at Martin Street near Michigan Avenue, Elmwood and Griffin Streets, Yeamans near Joseph Campau, and Joseph Campau

<sup>18</sup>Information given by the Polish Consul in Detroit.

<sup>19</sup>Information given by Sister Witolda of the Felician order.

and Hancock. None of these churches maintains parochial schools, but they hold classes after public school hours for instruction in the Polish language and in religion.

*Organizations.* All the large Polish national societies have branches in Detroit. The membership of the Polish National Alliance in Detroit and Hamtramck numbers between eight and nine thousand. The Polish Roman Catholic Union has a local membership of four or five thousand, and the Polish National Women's Alliance has almost four thousand members in its thirty-eight Detroit branches. The Falcons, an organization for sport and physical training, also has several branches or "nests" in the Detroit area. Its membership includes both young men and young women.

There are also many local clubs and associations. The most important are the Michigan Business Men's Association, which has its own clubhouse on 35th Street; the West Side Merchants' League, which meets at St. Anne's Community House, Hamtramck; the Chene Business Men's Association, with headquarters at the East Side Dom Polski (Polish Home), 2281 Forest Avenue East; the Conant Avenue Improvement Association in North Detroit; the West Side Political Club; the Political Club in Delray; and the Polish Merchants' Association, with three branches in Hamtramck. Poles in Wyandotte have a Taxpayers Association; those in Dearborn a Citizens Club.

The national halls, Domy Polskie (Polish Homes), at 2281 Forest Avenue East and 3426 Junction Avenue, were organized as stock corporations, but are largely supported by rentals and membership dues. They serve as the meeting places of the branches of national societies and other organizations, and are the centers of Polish community life. At Dom Polski lectures, concerts, dances, card parties, and other social affairs are held. Dom Ludowy (Peoples Home Association) on Harper Avenue is the social center of the Polish Socialists. The national beneficial society of the Polish Socialists, the Polish Mutual Aid Association, has five local branches with about a thousand

members,<sup>20</sup> and conducts a well-organized educational program. The Polish Aid Society and the Polish Activities League carry on altruistic work and receive support from the Detroit Community Fund. The Aid Society is a relief-giving agency which maintains a day nursery at 2233 East Milwaukee Avenue as one of its chief projects. The Activities League has its own building at 3314 Junction Avenue, where many recreational and educational clubs and classes meet. The League also maintains a camp at Utica, Michigan, for girls and boys. About half of its budget comes from the Community Fund and the rest is contributed by church societies of the different parishes and by local branches of the national societies.

Professional men among the Poles have their own organizations—the Polish Lawyers Association, the Polish Doctors Association, and the Society of Polish Engineers. Ninety per cent of the doctors and dentists were educated in this country, but about the same proportion of the engineers were educated in Europe.<sup>21</sup>

The Polish Veterans, an organization of those who enlisted in Haller's Polish army, have a clubhouse at 5360 McDougall Avenue. The Polish Veterans of America, about 75 per cent of whom were born in Poland, served in the American army. They hold their meetings at 4832 Chene Street.

*Family Life and Status of Women.* In Poland the family is the important social unit and parental authority is absolute. To maintain existence every member of a peasant family must cooperate in work. In such a social order individualism has no place. In the New World each member of the family finds his own job, and the children, who learn the new language more quickly than their parents and have more contact with American customs, are eager to gain the freedom of American children. However, parental authority is a strong tradition, upheld by the church, and Polish family life is less changed in

<sup>20</sup>Information given by the editor of the *Polish Daily Worker*.

<sup>21</sup>Information about organizations of professional men and veterans was given by Dr. F. Chenik.



America than is that of many immigrant groups. Contrary to the custom in most Polish centers, children of Polish parentage in Detroit have much of their recreation outside the national group and in school mix freely with children of native and other foreign nationality groups. This is particularly the case in schools where Polish children are in the majority.<sup>22</sup>

Poles of the first generation almost always marry within their own group and those who marry outside it rarely marry outside the church. In the second generation marriages with native Americans and persons of other nationality groups are numerous.

The early Polish immigrant women worked hard at whatever they could find to do. They were employed chiefly in hotels and restaurants, as domestic servants, and as cleaners and laundresses. Many had their houses full of men boarders for whom they cooked and washed. The daughters of these women had more choice of occupation. Many of them went at first into cigar factories, some found work in operating sewing machines and punch presses in automobile plants, and others were employed at the factory of the American Can Company and at cold storage plants. Today Polish girls in Detroit are finding still wider fields of employment. Many are working in stores as wrappers and saleswomen, in offices as typists, filing clerks, and stenographers, and some as teachers in the public schools. Though Polish boys are still given more educational opportunities than the girls, it is now assumed that the girls also should be educated, and when possible they are sent to high school and, in increasing numbers, to college.

*Contributions to Community Culture.* Several large choruses in Detroit give proof of the music-loving nature of the Poles. The most prominent are Lutnia, a male chorus, established about 1908; the Lyra Society, established in 1915, which includes a chorus and a mandolin orchestra; De Reszka, a male chorus; Halka, a women's chorus; Harmonia, a mixed chorus

<sup>22</sup>Information given by Charles M. Novak, Principal of Northeastern High School, Detroit.

of the Communist society; Hora Robotniczy, a mixed chorus of the Socialist group; and Harfa, which includes a chorus and a dramatic society. An outstanding name in Detroit musical circles is that of Thaddeus Wronski, a Polish teacher of singing and the founder of the Detroit Civic Opera.

The traditional Polish dances are beautifully demonstrated by two societies, Laur and Wirazyski. The love of Polish drama is proved by the Polish theatre (Teatre Ludowy) at Michigan Avenue and 29th Street, where both Polish plays and dramas translated from other languages are presented by a stock company.

Two local Polish painters of note are the Makielski brothers.

The proportion of teachers of Polish descent is not so great in Detroit as in Hamtramck, where they constitute more than 8 per cent of the whole number. Northeastern High School in Detroit has the largest number on its staff, the principal, the librarian, and two of the teachers being Poles born in Europe.

A Polish organization called the Institute of Educational Aid is making an interesting experiment in adult education. It offers courses in geography, biology, English, citizenship, and shop mathematics to adults, charging only enough to pay the teachers. Sunday lectures are given, for which a nominal charge is made. A junior club, composed of high-school and college students, is included in the organization, and has as its aim educating leaders who will have a good background of Polish culture. The college and university students among the juniors have organized a fraternity, a sorority, and a society composed of young men and women. The club has about one hundred twenty-five members, most of them from Wayne University and the University of Detroit. Several medical and law students are included in the group. The Institute publishes a monthly paper, partly in English and partly in Polish.<sup>23</sup>

*Relation of Poles to the Larger Community.* The Poles in Detroit still form a very compact group, held together chiefly

<sup>23</sup>Information given by Dr. F. Chenik.

by allegiance to the church and national organizations. Though there are twenty-four Polish parochial schools in the Detroit area, many Polish children attend the public schools and most of those who are able to continue their education beyond the elementary grades are in the local public high schools and colleges.

The Polish people are enthusiastic patrons of the Foreign Language Department of the Public Library. Books in the Polish language have a circulation almost twice as great as that of books in English.

It is natural that people of a common language, culture, and religion, many of them born in Europe, should still feel a little alien in the larger community. Many individuals in the group, however, are as much at home in the larger community as in the Polish community. Some have married native Americans and are thus brought more quickly into American social life. Those who hold public office, the business men, artists, and students, inevitably move beyond the bounds of Polish circles. With restricted immigration and the passing of time, the Polish group, like every group of the older immigration, will doubtless lose much of its present solidarity and become merged with the other peoples who make up the population of the United States.

#### RUMANIANS

**R**UMANIANS began to come to Michigan in 1904. A few found their way to the copper mines of the northern peninsula, but most of them settled in Detroit. Here two colonies were built up, the one on the streets south of Jefferson Avenue, extending south to the Detroit River and east and west from Chene Street to Walker Street; the other between Forest and Ferry Avenues, extending east and west from Riopelle to St. Antoine Street. Franklin Street became the center of the first colony, Russell Street that of the second. These locations were determined by the working places of the men. For the Franklin Street group these were chiefly the Detroit

Stove Company, the Morgan Wright Tire Company, the Ferro Stamping and Manufacturing Company, the Sherwood Brass Company, and the Trogott and Schmidt tanneries; for the Russell Street group, the American Car Foundry Company, the American Can Company, the McCord Radiator Manufacturing Company, and the Fisher Body and Studebaker Corporations.

The two settlements grew rapidly, for the people were well satisfied with conditions and wrote glowing reports of their progress to friends in the old country. One of these early comers, in speaking of the rapid growth of the Rumanian population in Detroit, said, "If a letter was written home advising a friend to come to Detroit, dozens followed the advice." However, the two settlements have changed greatly in the last ten or fifteen years. Probably not more than fifteen or sixteen Rumanian families now live on Franklin Street or south of Jefferson Avenue, and the center of this settlement is now at Fort and Chene Streets. The Russell Street colony has also broken up and many of the former settlers have moved north and are now living in the district extending from Davison Avenue to the Seven-Mile Road and from the Grand Trunk Railroad to Joseph Campau Avenue. This is now the largest Rumanian settlement in the Detroit area.

Other Rumanians of the Russell Street colony moved to Highland Park and settled chiefly on Gerald, Victor, Cottage Grove, and Kendall Avenues, in order to be near the Highland Park Ford factory, which employed great numbers of men at wages higher than those paid by other Detroit factories. Many started to buy home properties in these neighborhoods, but during the depression were unable to meet the payments or pay taxes, and lost everything. When the Ford Motor Company moved its factory to Dearborn in 1928, Rumanians who owned property in Highland Park and the Davison and Seven-Mile Road district had a long way to travel to their work. Those who did not own property in this district moved at once to Dearborn. Others followed later, and the Rumanian settlement in Dearborn is now second in size to the Davison Avenue

colony. Most of the Rumanians in Dearborn work at the River Rouge Ford plant. Until unemployment became general during the depression, others were employed at the factory of the Michigan Steel Corporation in Ecorse. Rumanians in Dearborn also bought real estate, and many of them also have seen swept away the savings of years, put into what they thought was the safest possible investment. The extent and substantial nature of the Rumanian settlement in Dearborn are indicated by the number of public buildings in the Rumanian section. These comprise two churches, Greek Catholic and Baptist, and a business section that includes a pharmacy, grocery stores, and meat markets.

The following table<sup>24</sup> shows the number of Rumanian-born people and their children living in the Detroit area.

	Foreign-born	American-born	Total
Detroit .....	7576	5678	13,254
Dearborn .....	928	494	1,422
Highland Park .....	356	252	603
Hamtramck .....	169	109	278
Ecorse .....	139	90	229
River Rouge .....	101	59	160
Wyandotte .....	76	68	144
Lincoln Park .....	39	48	87
Royal Oak .....	21	29	50
Ferndale .....	30	20	50
Grosse Pointe Park .....	13	6	19
			<hr/> 16,301

It appears that not many Rumanians left Detroit during the depression. A Rumanian business man in Highland Park reported that fifteen or twenty men of the group went to coal-mining towns in Western Pennsylvania and West Virginia, leaving their families behind until they could send for them, and that a few went to Chicago. The priest of the Greek Catholic church reported that only four or five families of his parish had left, to return to Rumania.

*Organizations.* The Rumanians in Detroit support eight churches—three orthodox, two of which are dissident and not under the jurisdiction of the vicar sent from Rumania; two

<sup>24</sup>Fifteenth Census, 1930, *Population*, Vol. III, Part 1, Table 18, p. 1155.

Greek Catholic; and three Baptist. One Rumanian Orthodox church is on Franklin Street, between Dubois and Chene; another at Russell and Hancock. The Greek Catholic church is on Orleans Street, north of Davison Avenue. One of the three small Baptist churches is on Dequindre, north of Davison Avenue; a second on Hastings, near Farnsworth; and a third on Mulkey Street in Dearborn.

The Greek Catholic Rumanians are a united group, whose church is a social as well as religious center. A full-time parochial school was maintained formerly, but classes are now held three times a week after public school hours for instruction in religion and the Rumanian language. The priest is the teacher, as well as the director of a large chorus of boys and girls. Similar classes are conducted by the priests of the Rumanian Orthodox churches.

All Rumanian congregations in Detroit are small, and it is clear that many Rumanians have drifted away from the institution that was the center of their lives in the home country.

Several Rumanian organizations in Detroit have disappeared under the pressure of hard times. However, the Union and League of Rumanian Societies in America has four branches in Detroit and one in Dearborn. These societies were formed to furnish social and educational centers, as well as to insure their members. The Detroit lodges meet at the Rumanian hall on Farnsworth near Russell Street. This hall is an important social center, where banquets, dances, lectures, concerts, and dramatic performances are given, the women's club holds its meetings, and the men transact the business of the local lodges. The Rumanian-American College Students Association also has a branch in Detroit, with a membership of about twelve. *Flacara* (the flame) is a large chorus of young people of the Communist group.

*Occupations.* The early Rumanian immigrants were unskilled laborers, but several years of factory experience and training have produced a number of skilled workmen. The

professional group includes a lawyer, two physicians, a pharmacist, four engineers, and several teachers. In view of the lateness of the Rumanian immigration, the development of a professional group of this size is remarkable.

*Family Life.* In Rumania, as in most European countries, the family is the social unit and the members cooperate to make a living. In America, where the adult members of the family are usually employed in different occupations, an attitude of individualism is soon adopted and the family loses its solidarity. Parental authority, almost absolute in the home village, weakens in the new environment. The children gain a much wider knowledge of American customs from the school and the community than the parents ever acquire. They particularly envy and seek to gain the freedom of their American schoolmates, and the parents often lose in the struggle to maintain authority and resist the force of ways and customs entirely different from their own.

Not many of the American-born children have reached marriageable age, but most of those who have have married within the group.

In the early days of the Rumanian immigration, when there were few women in the colonies, many of them added to the family income by keeping boarders. Later some began to work in laundries, restaurants, and factories. In normal times a considerable number in Detroit were employed by the Briggs Manufacturing Company and the Premier Cushion Spring Company and Dodge Brothers, where they operated sewing machines and power presses, and also by the American Can Company and several tobacco manufacturers. American girls of Rumanian parentage do not usually seek factory work. Formerly many who were high-school graduates were employed as office workers, but many of this group were compelled to accept domestic service during the depression.

*Adaptation to the American Environment.* Since the Rumanian immigration is recent and the majority of the American-born children are still young, it is natural that most of the



social life of the Rumanians in Detroit should be lived within the bounds of their own group, though the young women who teach in the public schools and several men of the professional class have made contacts with the larger community.

It is a sad fact, however, that immigrants and their children rarely feel secure in the American environment. The parents, forgetting hardships and old discontents, look back to the home country as to an earthly paradise. Their children, living between the Old World and the New, and longing to be completely a part of the New, can never quite attain their desire. The best that each group can do is to reach some compromise and accommodate themselves as well as possible to new conditions, for the process of assimilation, particularly for those of non-English-speaking derivation, is a slow one. Probably not until the first generation, with its language, customs, and traditions, has entirely disappeared, will real assimilation begin.

#### RUSSIANS

A FEW Slavic Russians reached Detroit as early as 1901, but the greater number came in 1912 and 1913. Most of them had settled first in New York and Pennsylvania, chiefly in the coal-mining districts of Pennsylvania, and were attracted to Detroit by the larger wages and pleasanter work offered by the automobile industry.

Some of the Slavic Russians settled on Hastings Street among the Russian Jews who had preceded them to Detroit. Some who had formerly lived on the Russian-Polish border settled among the Poles in Hamtramck, not because they loved the Poles but because their languages were sufficiently similar to make social intercourse possible between the two peoples. For the same reason some made their homes in the Lithuanian colony, centering around Westminster and Cardoni Streets, for the Lithuanians lived so long under Russian rule that many of them speak the language of the master class. Gradually, however, most of the Russians moved to North Detroit, and a number bought properties on Meade, Davison, Gallagher,

Goddard, Arlington, Carpenter, and neighboring streets. The Russian colony in North Detroit extends approximately north and south from the Six-Mile (McNichols) Road to Carpenter Street and east and west from Conant to Dequindre. The next largest Russian colony is in Hamtramck. A few Russians are scattered throughout the West Side, and some have moved to the down river towns, River Rouge, Ecorse, Dearborn, Lincoln Park, and Wyandotte.

The following table shows the number and distribution in the Detroit area of those listed in the 1930 Census as of Russian white stock, including Ukrainians from the former Russian Empire, Jews, and any other people born in Russia, as well as their American-born children.

	Foreign born	Of foreign or mixed parentage	Total
Detroit .....	21,871	24,042	45,823
Hamtramck .....	1,037	1,065	2,102
Dearborn .....	631	512	1,143
Highland Park .....	312	399	711
Wyandotte .....	101	126	227
River Rouge .....	60	68	128
Lincoln Park .....	44	68	112
Ferndale .....	38	46	83
Royal Oak .....	37	46	83
Ecorse .....	21	34	55
Grosse Pointe Park .....	13	26	39

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50,507

Of this total of 50,507 the majority are undoubtedly Russian Jews. Though the Census offers no means of arriving at the respective number of Ukrainians born in Russia and Slavic Russians, a guess based on long association with both groups would place the Ukrainian population at about fifteen thousand, the Slavic Russian at about ten thousand.

The greater number of Slavic Russians in the Detroit area work at the Ford factory as unskilled laborers, but there is a considerable body of skilled workers, chiefly die and pattern makers. A few have small independent businesses, such as grocery stores, shoe repair shops, and coal yards. A few others are in business for themselves as painters, carpenters, and contractors.

Since the Slavic Russians did not come to Detroit in any considerable number until 1912, and most of these early arrivals were unmarried men, most of the children of the Russian colony are young. Some, however, have reached high-school age and a few have entered Detroit colleges. Of the college students some were brought to the United States as young children, and most are of peasant parentage.

The Russians who came to Detroit before the Russian Revolution have generally become citizens and permanent residents. Some have prospered more than others, but with the exception of the Communist element they form a homogeneous group with interests centering chiefly in family, church, various organizations, and the social life of the colony.

*Russian Emigrés.* In 1922/23 about two hundred Russian émigrés reached Detroit. The majority of the group were military men, but there were also several professional men, a few women, and some former students. These people were received cordially by a committee of their fellow countrymen of the earlier immigration who fed and housed those without money and found work for them in the factories. As time passed, however, though many individual relationships between the older and newer Russians in the city remained cordial, the two groups drew apart. Differences in education, experience, and interests were too great to be bridged by common nationality alone. In fact, there was not much cohesion within the refugee group itself. In political theory some, particularly the army and naval officers, were monarchists; others had formerly belonged to liberal parties. They were also of different classes socially. Some were of the nobility and aristocracy, others were of the intelligentsia, and a few were skilled workers.

In general, the military men of the émigré group, whose training is not of much use in civilian life, are still working in the factories, but the professional men and the students are rapidly finding their former levels. One of the physicians who worked for some time at the Ford factory was later given a

position in the Emergency Hospital of the Ford Motor Company. Another physician was employed in the laboratory of the Henry Ford Hospital until the time of his death. One of the lawyers, after working for some time in various factories, entered the Detroit College of Law and received the LL.B. degree in 1929 and a J.D. degree in 1930, and was admitted to the bar in 1930. A lawyer, after two years of work in the Detroit Public Library, graduated at the University of Michigan and is now on the staff of the New York Public Library. Two chemists and a botanist are employed [1932] in the laboratories of the Ford Motor Company. One of the engineers has been employed professionally with the Detroit Edison Company since his arrival in Detroit. He received a Ph.D. degree from the University of Michigan in 1932 after a period of study there. A professional musician in the group, after struggling for several years to make a place for himself in the Detroit music world, became a student at the School of Library Science of the University of Michigan and was graduated in June, 1932. Of the students, one was graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and eight or ten were graduated from or studied for a time at the University of Michigan.

Two women of the group who were able to speak English secured employment soon after their arrival in Detroit, one as a nurse in a Detroit hospital, the other, who had been a student at the University of Petrograd before the outbreak of the Revolution, with the Travellers' Aid Society.

How far-reaching the cultural influence of this new group of Russians may be we cannot tell as yet, but already it is evident that their presence serves as a stimulus to the intellectual life of the old colony.

*Churches.* Russians are traditionally of the Eastern Orthodox Church. There are six churches of this communion in Detroit. Owing to the split in the church after the Russian Revolution, these are not all under one head. Four churches acknowledge Metropolitan Platon as their head. These are

SS. Peter and Paul at 3800 Gilbert Street, All Saints at Hendrie and Joseph Campau, Holy Trinity at Meade and Goddard Streets, and St. Mary's at 359 Louise Street, Highland Park. St. Michael's at 3977 Livernois Avenue and the Holy Ghost Church on Finley near Joseph Campau are under the rival metropolitan, Appolinary. Those who attend the churches on Louise Street and Hendrie Street are almost all Russians, but the majority in the other churches are Galician Ukrainians, many of whom have gone over to the Orthodox church since coming to America. The Russian Royalists are said to attend the church on Louise Street. The church of the Russian Baptists at 2533 Carpenter Street is a mission supported by the Baptist Union. Though the Baptist sect existed in old Russia, almost all the two hundred members of the church in Detroit have joined since coming to America. Scattered through the colony are a few Dukhobors, members of a sect bitterly persecuted in old Russia.

A secular school was formerly maintained for children of Russian parentage, but it was closed during the depression. Russian organizations in the city are cooperating in an attempt to reopen it.

*Other Organizations.* About fifty young people of Russian parentage, high-school and college students, have organized a club for social and cultural purposes which meets weekly at the International Institute at 2431 East Grand Boulevard. Dancing and basketball are their usual diversions, and programs are sometimes produced for the entertainment of their parents. Occasionally a Russian intellectual is invited to speak to them.

The Russian Consolidated Mutual Aid Society, an organization whose members are political radicals, has a branch in Detroit. A branch of the Russian Cooperation Society operates a restaurant and small hall at 9219 Russell Street. Soon after their arrival in Detroit the émigré group organized the Russian Association. They maintain also a branch of the Russian

Veterans Association and a branch of the Russian Refugee Children's Welfare Society.

The Russian Balalaika Orchestra, organized by a group of émigrés a number of years ago, is under the leadership of a trained musician who has brought its performance to a professional level. The orchestra is often heard over the radio in community programs. A number of choruses have been formed from time to time, but none has become a permanent organization.

*Family Life and Status of Women.* The development of family life has been slow among Russians in America, owing to the hardships they suffered before and after immigration, and most of their children are still young. For this reason the strain between parents and children which is so real among many older immigrant groups is not yet evident among them.

The status of women of the peasant class, which is very low in Russia, has rapidly improved in the United States. Their work in the home country was hard and they were often brutally treated by their husbands. Their scarcity in the new country was one factor in changing their position, and the American attitude was another. Comparatively few work outside the home, for the large number of unmarried men makes the keeping of boarders more profitable than working in factories. Some are employed in the kitchens of hotels and restaurants, and others as cleaners in office buildings. Russian girls who are old enough to support themselves are rarely found doing the work many of their mothers were compelled to do. A few work in Detroit factories, and others are employed as saleswomen, clerks, bookkeepers, and stenographers. A reading of such books as Gorki's autobiography or Bunin's novel, *The Village*, makes clear the wide gulf between the life of peasant and proletarian women in Russia and the life of Russian immigrant women in the United States.

*Relation to the Community.* Both the Russians and Ukrainians who first came to the United States were non-English speaking peasants who settled in compact colonies for con-

venience and mutual support. Many have never learned the language of the new country. Those among their children who have graduated from college and entered the professions have as a rule remained in the group as its leaders, though some have contacts with the American community as well.

The émigrés who arrived later have also on the whole remained apart, owing to the language handicap and the different conditions of life in America. However, those who knew English before they came or who set about acquiring it upon their arrival are taking more part in American social life. They have become citizens and are planning futures which will necessarily bring them into the American community. In general, however, the Russian group in Detroit remains isolated. Many of its members do not forget the brutal treatment to which they were subjected in 1917 and the years following in Russia. They are critical of their American environment, but the majority have no belief in the Soviet regime. As a group, they are disillusioned and disappointed.

#### SYRIANS

THE first Syrians in Detroit were a few merchants who had come to the United States in 1893 with goods to sell at the World's Fair in Chicago, and who decided to stop in Detroit on their way east and try to dispose of their unsold wares. Their stock-in-trade consisted of articles of carved olive wood and mother of pearl, beads, and other trinkets. Apparently they found business in Detroit fairly good, for they opened two shops, one at the corner of Brush Street and Gratiot Avenue and one on Cadillac Square where the Barlum Tower now stands. Their ventures prospered, and from time to time they sent home for more goods of the same kind. Gradually other Syrians who had settled first in New York and Boston came to Detroit, and by 1900 there were about fifty in the city, mostly unmarried men from Lebanon. The colony grew rapidly between 1908 and 1913, the year of the greatest Syrian



migration to the United States. The later comers came from all parts of Syria, and a few from Palestine.

The number of Syrians in the Detroit area is shown in the following data from the 1930 Census:

	Foreign born	Foreign or mixed parentage	Total
Detroit .....	3224	4307	7531
Highland Park .....	360	443	803
Dearborn .....	139	143	282
Ferndale .....	9	21	30
Grosse Pointe Park .....	33	40	73
Hamtramck .....	6	7	13
Lincoln Park .....	4	4	8
Royal Oak .....	2	5	7
Wyandotte .....	3	1	4
River Rouge .....	1	1	2
Ecorse .....	1	0	1
			<hr/> 8754

*Settlements.* The Syrian settlements in the city were formed upon the basis of common native district and religious allegiance. The majority of Syrians in Detroit are Lebanese and adherents of the Maronite, Melchite (Uniate), and Greek Orthodox churches. The Maronite colony centered at the junction of Orleans and Congress Streets and extended east along Congress, Lafayette, and Fort from Orleans to Elmwood Avenue. The Melchites centered about McDougall and Charlevoix Avenues. Those of the Orthodox communion settled near by on Arndt Street. Nestorians from Homs and Hama in Syria congregated south of East Jefferson Avenue on Woodbridge, Franklin, and Atwater Streets. A very small group from Palestine settled around Second Avenue and Fort. A few people from Damascus, the capital of Syria, gathered on the far East Side on Newport, Lakewood, and Copland, and on East Jefferson Avenue near the factory of the Hudson Motor Car Company. The Palestinian group includes members of both the Melchite and Orthodox communions, of which those of the Orthodox communion are the more numerous. The people from Damascus also include members of both the Melchite and Orthodox churches. Moslem Syrians, mostly from

Syria proper, with a small number of Druses, formed a colony in Highland Park centering on Victor Avenue. This colony spread to Gerald, Cottage Grove, and LaBelle, from Hamilton Avenue to Brush Street. Though many Syrians continue to live in the original settlements, some have scattered throughout the city and to nearby towns in the Detroit area, especially to River Rouge and Dearborn.

*Occupations.* The Syrian merchants in Detroit soon found it unprofitable to deal entirely in trifles and trinkets imported from Syria and began to open fruit and vegetable stores in various parts of Detroit and in nearby towns. Later they sold groceries as well. These ventures proved successful until the chain stores, which twenty years ago sold chiefly canned goods, began to sell fruits and vegetables also. With their competition the Syrians found the struggle for existence growing hard, and only about a third of the grocery stores they operated in 1928/29, numbering about twelve hundred, have survived.

While many Syrians were establishing themselves in the fruit and grocery business, a few set up shops to sell rugs, brasses, and embroidered linens. Other lines of business later attracted Syrians, and several who started in a small way eventually expanded into wholesale trade. The principal businesses [1932] include about four hundred retail grocery stores, possibly a dozen restaurants and coffee houses, two retail oriental rug stores, a retail fur store, three wholesale bakeries, a wholesale creamery, about six fruit stores, a wholesale company importing seeds, nuts, and condiments, and two slaughterhouses. Though competition and the depression have proved disastrous to many, it is reported that about 50 per cent of the Syrians in Detroit are still engaged in mercantile enterprises. Much against their inclination, a number have been compelled to seek work in automobile factories, where they are usually employed as unskilled laborers, for Syrians are not mechanically minded. The majority of these men work at the Ford factory in Dearborn.

The professional group includes ten physicians, two dentists, and seven or eight lawyers, all born and educated in the United States with the exception of five of the physicians who came to Detroit after completing their professional training in Syria. The work of a talented young artist of the group is often exhibited in the city.

*Education.* The majority of children of Syrian parentage are still young and in the grade schools, but a number have completed high-school courses, and an authority in the group<sup>25</sup> states that for several years a considerable number have gone on to college or university each year. Most of them have attended Wayne University and the University of Detroit, but a few have gone farther afield. Almost all these students are young men, but the American-born girls of Syrian parentage are beginning to demand more educational advantages. Several have graduated from high school and two have received the Bachelor's degree from Detroit colleges, one in 1931 from Marygrove College, a Catholic institution, and one in 1932 from Wayne University.

*Status and Occupations of Women.* Syrian girls who have attended high school and college are not content to abide by Syrian conventions regulating the lives of women. They desire more freedom and are gradually gaining it, not so much through rebellion against old customs as through economic necessity, which requires that the daughters as well as the sons help in the support of the family. Many girls of Syrian parentage still work in their fathers' stores, but an increasing number are employed in offices, usually as typists and filing clerks, and several are saleswomen, seamstresses, and office employees in Detroit department stores. Even Syrian-born women are working outside their homes, most of them for the D. M. Ferry Seed Company, sorting seeds, and for the Chrysler Corporation and the Hudson Motor Car Company, where they operate sewing machines. These women and girls in industry belong to several groups of Christian Syrians. The few Moslem

<sup>25</sup>George Bashara, attorney at Caro.

and Druse women in Detroit, all foreign born, are still secluded. Their children are young, and the conflict between the generation born in the Old World and that born in the New has not yet begun for these people, who are the most conservative of all Syrians.

*Churches.* The churches of Christian Syrians in Detroit are located as follows:

St. Maron's (Maronite), Congress near Orleans

St. George's (Greek Orthodox), Arndt Street near McDougall

Our Lady of Redemption (Melchite-Uniate), corner of McDougall and Charlevoix Avenues

A few Syrian Protestants and Jacobites<sup>26</sup> attend Christ Church on Jefferson Avenue East, and the Nestorians, through the courtesy of Christ Episcopal Church, meet for worship in the hall of Christ Church community house on Woodbridge Street. The Moslem Syrians undertook several years ago to build a mosque in Highland Park, but soon after it was completed they found themselves unable to meet the debt on their property and were compelled to give it up. At present they meet only twice a year on the occasions of their two great holy days, Ramadan and the Day of Sacrifices, in a hall on Victor Street, Highland Park, where one of them conducts a barber college.

*Other Organizations.* The inability of foreign-born Syrians to form such organizations as mutual aid societies, choruses, and orchestras, so general among many immigrant groups, is probably to be accounted for by the intense political and religious factionalism of the older people. The organizations of the foreign-born group are chiefly political, one faction supporting independence for Syria, the other the French regime in the home land. However, the differences which seem so vital to them are not so regarded by their American-born children, who are so much concerned with their own problems that Old

<sup>26</sup>Jacobites reject the doctrine of the dual nature of Christ, and believe that he was divine only.

World affairs have little or no interest for them. In Detroit, as elsewhere, the young people of Syrian parentage have organized clubs and societies of a cultural, altruistic, and social nature. In general, the interests of Syrian immigrants are in their personal business and in Old World affairs; those of their American-born children in making a place for themselves in the larger community which lies beyond the bounds of the Syrian colony. The foreign-born Syrians cling to ancient customs and traditions; those of the second generation strive to develop a new way of life.

With few newcomers to the colony to reinforce old ways, and with the passing of the older generation, the descendants of Syrian immigrants will fit more readily into American life, and in the course of time will probably become absorbed into it.

#### UKRAINIANS

THE first group of Ukrainians came to Detroit in 1904 from the Pittsburgh district, where, like the Russians who came to the city a little later, they had worked in the coal mines. There is no way of arriving at the exact number of Ukrainians in Detroit, since the Census lists Ukrainians born in the former Russian Empire with Russians, and those born in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania with all others born in those countries; but a guess based upon association with these peoples would number the Ukrainian population at about fifteen thousand.

*Settlements.* The Ukrainians made their first settlement on the West Side of the city, and in 1907 established a Greek Catholic (Uniate) church on Cicotte Street. Probably three-quarters of them were originally from Galicia in Poland, but among the group were Ukrainians from what is now Czechoslovakia,<sup>27</sup> Bukowina and Bessarabia in Rumania, and from a district in Hungary.<sup>28</sup> Others who reached Detroit somewhat later settled in Hamtramck, and this settlement eventually

<sup>27</sup>Ukrainians from Czechoslovakia are often called Carpatho-Russe.

<sup>28</sup>Ukrainians from this district are known as Ugro-Russe.

became the largest in the Detroit area. The second Greek Catholic church was built for this colony, on Grayling Street. The colony centers on Grayling and parallel streets north and south, and extends east and west on both sides of Joseph Campau, with the most thickly settled part east from Joseph Campau to Dequindre Street. The West Side settlement extends north and south between McGraw and Fort Streets and scatters west from Junction out to Dearborn. The concentrated points are around Junction and McGraw and south of Michigan on Gilbert, Clippert, Cicotte, and a few neighboring streets. The West Side group has continued to grow and rivals the Hamtramck colony in size. Another smaller colony has developed in Dearborn and there are some Ukrainians in most of the down river towns, where they have moved from Detroit and Hamtramck in order to be near their work at the Ford factory.

*Occupations.* Most of the Ukrainians in the Detroit area are unskilled workers, employed by the Ford Motor Company in Dearborn, the Chrysler Corporation, Hudson Motor Parts Company, Dodge Brothers, and American Radiator Company in Hamtramck, and the Briggs Manufacturing Company in Highland Park. A number have become skilled workers, and some are bosses and foremen in the factories. Many small business men of the group in Hamtramck and the West Side operate meat markets, grocery, shoe, music, and book stores, and coal yards.

There are a few Ukrainians in the professional class. The first physician and dentist of the group in the Detroit area were brothers, born of parents from Galicia in Poland. The professional group also includes three young men who are teaching in high schools in Detroit and Hamtramck, a Galician-born physician who practices in Hamtramck, and three lawyers, of whom two were born in the United States and one in Canada.

*Education.* Comparatively few children of Ukrainian parentage are financially able to continue their education in

college or university, but many complete a high-school course. In the Hamtramck High School about a third of the students are of Ukrainian parentage, and in the Chadsey School at 5553 Martin Street, West Side Detroit, they make up the majority in both elementary and high-school departments. Of those who have attended or are attending college, the greater number have been enrolled in Wayne University. A few have been students in professional schools of the University of Michigan. The entire group numbers about twenty-five. Each represents a triumph over great difficulties.

*Churches.* A considerable number of Ukrainians are members of the Eastern Orthodox church. With the exception of those from Ukrainia, all of them have gone over to that communion since coming to America. Most of the Ukrainians, however, are of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) church. Greek Catholic Ukrainians in the United States were at first under the jurisdiction of Roman Catholic bishops, but were later given a bishop of their own, whose residence is in Philadelphia. His jurisdiction extends over most of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic churches in the United States and Canada, but not over all, for a schism occurred in the Ukrainian Greek Catholic church as in the Russian Orthodox church, and the secessionists have a bishop of their own, whose headquarters are in Homestead, Pennsylvania. In Detroit this group has its church at 2390 East Grand Boulevard.

The Ukrainian churches in Detroit are small, the largest having only about five hundred members. One Ukrainian Greek Catholic church is on Grayling Street, near Lumpkin, in Hamtramck, and the other on Clippert Street on the West Side, south of Michigan Avenue. Each formerly had a full-time parochial school, but these were closed during the depression and only classes for religious instruction held after public school hours. The first Greek Catholic church in Detroit, on Cicotte Street, became Russian Orthodox.

*Other Organizations.* Each of the churches has an assembly hall where the parish societies meet and the people enjoy



various recreational and social activities. Choruses gather in the halls for rehearsals, and throughout the winter months there is usually an expert instructor to teach the young people the beautiful traditional Ukrainian dances. The Ukrainian Educational Home Association has a hall at 4959 Martin Street for the social and educational activities of its members, who are non-church people of radical political views.

Detroit Ukrainians are said to support about forty-eight organizations in all, most of which are local. However, four of the national societies are represented by branches. These are the Providence Association, which has a branch in each of the Ukrainian churches in the city; the Ukrainian National Association, more strongly supported by non-church people, which has one branch; and the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association and the Mutual Aid Association, each of which has one branch. The last two include both church and non-church Ukrainians.

The Ukrainian chorus, Dumka, composed of fifty or sixty men and women, is known throughout the Detroit area and across the river in Canada. The artistic finish of its performances and the beauty of its costumes are much appreciated wherever the chorus appears. Another chorus was organized in 1932 by the assistant to the famous Roshetz. A mandolin and balalaiki orchestra, composed of about forty young men and women, is popular both for its playing of national music and its brilliant national costumes.

*Family Life.* More of the second generation in the Ukrainian group than in the Russian group have reached maturity, and strain and stress are in many cases having their effect on the family life of Ukrainians in America. When the economic situation is good and the parents intelligent, the family tie is close and the children seldom leave home until they are married, but many boys and girls who glimpse another world through their association with native Americans in the schools become dissatisfied with things at home and resentful of Old World discipline. They make comparisons between American and Ukrainian customs and ways of living and criticize their

homes. Insubordination often follows and broken families sometimes result. However, Ukrainian parents are usually eager to give their children all possible educational advantages, and if a son or daughter, educated in college or university, turns from the old ways and adopts the manners and ideas of his American friends, the change is accepted by the parents as necessary for his advancement.

As in the case of Russian women of peasant antecedents, the condition of Ukrainian women in the New World has changed greatly. The American attitude toward women, the easier work to be done even outside the home, and the conveniences in the home all contribute toward a better life for them. Ukrainian girls are usually sent to school as long as possible, but some have had to go into the factories. In Detroit they are employed chiefly at the Briggs factory, where they operate sewing machines and punch presses, at several automobile and bedspring factories in the north end, and at tobacco and corset factories on the West Side. A number have gone into domestic service and many are working as saleswomen and in offices as clerks and stenographers. Like the Russian girls, they marry young and usually in their own national group.

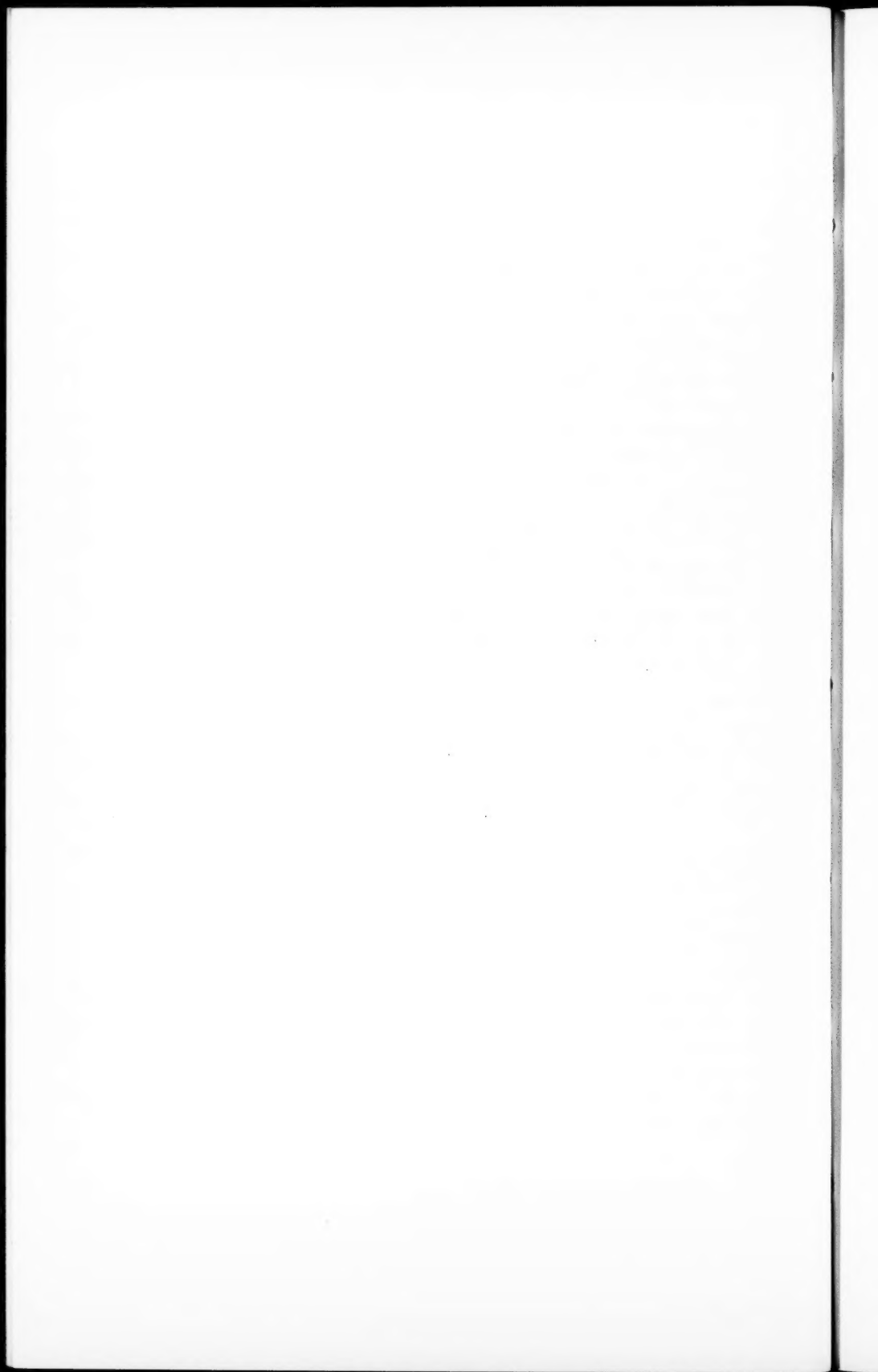
As a rule Ukrainian people are thrifty. After years of saving some of them in Detroit were able to buy home properties outright and others bought them on installments, but many lost them during the depression when they were unable to make payments or pay taxes.

*Departure of Ukrainians from Detroit in Recent Years.* According to report, a considerable number of Ukrainians have left Detroit in recent years—some to return to American towns where they formerly lived, in the hope of being re-employed there; some, older people who have saved money, to return to Galicia; and others, Ukrainian Communists, to go to Russia. Communism has never been so popular with the Ukrainians in the United States as it is with the Russians. The Ukrainians were for long centuries under the rule of foreign masters and have always cherished the ideals of freedom and of national

entity. Particularly is this true of Ukrainians from Galicia. Nationalism, not Communism, appeals to them.

*Relation to the Community.* Both the Russians and Ukrainians who first came to the United States were non-English-speaking peasants who settled in compact colonies for convenience and mutual support. Many never learned the language of the new country. Those among their children who have graduated from college and entered the professions have as a rule remained in the group as its leaders, though some among them have contacts with both their own group and the American community.

Though those of the second generation of the Ukrainian group, as well as those of the Russian group, have been much more affected by the American environment than their parents have, they also are isolated and seldom venture far into the larger community. Their chief recreations, dancing and singing, are available in their own national group.



## AMONG THE BOOKS

**O**UR COUNTRY, OUR PEOPLE, AND THEIRS. By M. E. Tracy. Macmillan, N. Y., 1938, pp. 120. Price \$1.75.

A convincing book by the editor and publisher of *Current History*. Uses the "parallel column" method of graphing the relative merits of democracy and dictatorships as exemplified by the United States, Russia, Germany and Italy. Details of area and resources, population, agriculture, industry, labor, business, finance, living conditions, transportation, communication, education, culture, recreation, the family, health, government, national defense, law enforcement, crime and penology, human rights, social security, social organization. Numerous pictorial graphs are used in addition. An excellent book for schools. It enables people to answer questions for themselves. The comparison strongly favors the United States. But the author points out that democracy flourishes here partly because of our relative security from attack and because of our abundant raw materials.

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THE MARCUS W. JERNEGAN ESSAYS IN AMERICAN HISTORIOGRAPHY. By His Former Students, at the University of Chicago. Edited by William T. Hutchinson. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill., 1937, pp. 417. Price \$4.

An examination of the chief works of 21 leading American historians "for the purpose of ascertaining their methods of research, the influence determining their outlook upon the past, and the reasons justifying their remembrance by students of American history." Professor Jernegan, at the University of Chicago, is among the teachers who have offered seminars in Historiography with notable success. Of special interest to Michigan are the sketches of Claude Halstead Van Tyne and Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, both formerly professors of history at the University of Michigan.

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FEDERAL JUSTICE. By Homer Cummings and Carl McFarland. Macmillan, N. Y., 1937, pp. 576. Price \$4.

An intimate story of American law and life. Based on hitherto unused papers in files of the Attorney General's office and the Department of Justice. Tragic stories of racketeers, law suits, prisons and politics. A popularized description of the Department of Justice in action. This service by the Attorney General of the United States and his Special Assistant presents American history from a new point of

view, wherein is seen the tremendous difficulties involved in making a government by law prevail.

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**THE SAGA OF AMERICAN SOCIETY: A RECORD OF SOCIAL ASPIRATION, 1607-1937.** By Dixon Wechter, Scribners, N. Y., 1937, pp. 504. Price \$4.

A serious study, free from the crusading spirit. Written with good humor and scholarly objectivity. Foibles of the rich get some friendly jibes. Society with a big "S," according to the author, has not measured up to its opportunities. Discusses origins of the various social strata, the rise of a plutocracy, and its failure to develop into an aristocracy. Considers the several techniques used to orient social newcomers,—etiquette books, blue books, social registers, society pages, quest for foreign titles, sports, clubs, "self-justifications," et cetera. An outstanding contribution to social history.

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**AN INQUIRY INTO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE GOOD SOCIETY.** By Walter Lippmann. Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1937, pp. 402. Price \$3.

A philosophical study in popular vein. Supports the thesis that the failure of liberalism was due to an "intellectual error" of the 19th century governing classes, in holding the sole job of liberalism was to release the productive powers of industry, leading social reformers to turn from liberalism towards collectivism and the superstate. The author pleads for redirection of liberalism into channels leading to the best possible measure of equality of opportunity, to greater measure of social justice.

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**THE ROAD TO REUNION: 1865-1900.** By Paul H. Buck. Little, Brown, and Co., Boston, 1937, pp. 320. Price \$3.25.

A study of the forces of national integration following Civil War. Emphasis is placed on the social rather than the economic factors. Nevertheless an important contribution to knowledge of this phase of national development.

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**A SOUTHERNER DISCOVERS THE SOUTH.** By Jonathan Daniels. Macmillan, N. Y., 1938, pp. 346. Price \$3.

An "informal encyclopedia" of the modern South. Written in the spirit of discovery that the Old South is gone, that enormous changes are necessary and under way. Here are tenant farmers, share croppers, governors, professors, labor leaders, industrialists, aristocrats, "poor

whites," negroes, mill villages, the TVA experiment, plantations, co-operative colonies, the South as it is. The story of a trip through the South by a keen observer and forceful writer. The author is editor of the *Raleigh News and Observer*.

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OUR FIRST GREAT WEST. By Temple Bodley. The Filson Club Publications, No. 36, Louisville, Ky., pp. 321. Price \$6.

This is the "West" from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi won from Great Britain by the Revolutionary War. The author points out the tremendous part it played in subsequent American expansion westward. The diplomatic contest with Spain, France and Britain, and the political triumph over grasping land companies make a story replete with human interest. Based largely on important unpublished materials, hence brings a fresh view. Among these sources is the confidential diplomatic correspondence of Lord Shelburne now in the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan. Large use is made of the recently published *Journals of the Continental Congress* in studying the politics of the period in relation to these lands.

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WESTERN LANDS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By Thomas P. Abernethy. Appleton, New York, 1937, pp. 413. Price \$4.

A study of the trans-Appalachian West and colonial politics, being *Monographs* No. 25 of the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, University of Virginia. A significant work. Traces the interplay of economic and political forces released during the American Revolution by contest for possession of the millions of acres of ungranted land which passed into the hands of the revolutionists. The period is from 1766 through the Confederation. A revealing book concerning land companies and "patriotic" speculators whose operations nearly brought disaster to the infant republic.

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CANADA AND HER GREAT NEIGHBOR: SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEYS OF OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES IN CANADA CONCERNING THE UNITED STATES. Edited by H. F. Argus with introduction by R. M. MacIver, Toronto: the Ryerson Press; New Haven, Yale University Press, 1938, pp. 451. Price \$5.50.

This volume is in the series of studies, "The Relations of Canada and the United States," prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History. It suffers from being published two years after its data was collected, not



reflecting the more cordial current feeling. It deals also only with English-speaking Canada. The author points out how a similar study of opinion and attitude in one European country toward another might easily lead to bitterness instead of to profit from the fuller understanding. A similar volume is understood to be in preparation on French-speaking Canada.

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**THE CANADIANS: THE STORY OF A PEOPLE.** By George M. Wrong. Macmillan, N. Y., 1938, pp. 455. Price \$3.50.

A book of solid merit, yet a popular history of Canada, written to be read. The feat was possible because the author is at once an eminent historian and master of good literary style. Story reaches from the earliest days of explorers to "The Canadians Today," the closing chapter. The general character of the book reminds of Siegfried's *Canada* (1937).

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**THE CONFLICT OF EUROPEAN AND EASTERN ALGONKIAN CULTURES, 1500-1700; A STUDY IN CANADIAN CIVILIZATION.** By Alfred Goldsworthy Bailey. Monographic Series No. 2, Publications of the New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, N. B., Canada, 1937. Price \$2.

Fills an important gap in the history of New France. The author shows how a new culture was built up from this collision of primitive peoples with the more complex civilization of Europe. Social by-products of the Canadian fur-trade are presented in some detail. The volume will be of interest to all students of the economic and social foundation of civilization in North America.

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**NORWEGIAN SETTLEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.** By Carlton C. Qualey. Published by the Norwegian-American Historical Association, Northfield, Minn., 1938, pp. 285. Price \$3.

A valuable geographical handbook for the student of American immigration. Obviously the product of extensive and careful research. Little attention to social and cultural aspects, thus differing in human interest from Theodore Blegen's *Norwegian Migration to America, 1825-1860* (1931). Of the nine chapters, chapter eight is given wholly to Michigan. Maps and statistical tables add to the reference value. For Michigan the tables are for 1860, 1870 and 1880.

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**SOME LA SALLE JOURNEYS.** By Jean Delanglez, S. J., Ph. D., Institute of Jesuit History, Loyola University, Chicago, 1938, Price \$2.25. (Discount of 20 per cent to libraries and instructors).

First of a projected series of historical publications by the Institute. An authoritative and interesting study of 17th century American history touching the Ohio and Mississippi valleys and Texas. Tells the story of the men behind the scenes in the life of a great explorer. Guides the reader to important new materials. The author is Assistant Research Professor of History at Loyola University.

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**HOLY OLD MACKINAW: A NATURAL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN LUMBERJACK.** By Stewart H. Holbrook, Macmillan, N. Y., 1938, pp. 278. Price \$2.50.

Breezy, sensational. A lusty story of he-men of the pine woods from Maine to the Pacific. A vastly entertaining book, and historically correct.

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**HEADLINES IN AMERICAN HISTORY.** By Frank Chapin Bray. Crowell, N. Y., 1937, pp. 311. Price \$2.

A compilation of slogans, catch phrases and rallying cries, from the Revolutionary defiance "Don't Tread on Me" to the "New Deal," and in most cases their explanation. A handy volume.

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**DOCTORS ON HORSEBACK. PIONEERS OF AMERICAN MEDICINE.** By J. T. Flexner. The Viking Press, N. Y., 1937, pp. 370. Price \$2.75.

The story of seven pioneer doctors: John Morgan, Benjamin Rush, Ephraim McDowell, Daniel Drake, William Beaumont, Crawford W. Long, and William T. G. Morton. A non-technical history of pioneer medicine in the United States, 1754 to 1878, as illustrated by the ideas and achievements of these men.

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**A HISTORY OF THE BUSINESS MAN.** By Miriam Beard. Macmillan, N. Y., 1938, pp. 779. Price \$5.

Popular history well written. Based on the works of leading historians. Colorful, dramatic, entertaining. The political, social, and cultural life of the business man as a class from ancient times to the present.